1: Gifford OU9 Tonga OU9

431

[For information on the presentation of gifts of food, mats, etc., to the great chiefs and the king, see Category 651.]

also the goods of his children, either during his life or after his death. 425 604
Even one of the uncle's wives might be appropriated. At the wedding of a 605
man's child, his sister's children may help themselves to the presents. The [837]
brother's children must show respect (*fakaapaapa*) to the sister's children. [585]
The institution of *fahu* is a one-sided, non-reciprocal affair. The victims [431]
never have a chance to retaliate, but they exercise similar privilege towards
their own mother's brother and his offspring. Towards one's *fahu* only
respect and acquiescence must be shown. To appropriate the property of
the *fahu* would be a serious breach of custom.

One chiefly informant remarked to me that he was lucky in having no 604
closely related *fahu*, as he had no sister. He had, however, female cousins, 605
whose children were *fahu* to him to a certain extent, but not like a real [593]
or great *fahu*. One such remote *fahu* visited this chief while I was with
him, his father's brother's daughter's daughter. She did not have the
privilege of a near *fahu* but must ask his permission before taking his
property.

Radcliffe-Brown (48, pp. 543, 553, 550) records for Tonga that 604

> . . . the sister's son is permitted to take many liberties with his mother's brother,
> and to take any of his uncle's possessions that he may desire. And there also we find [425]
> the custom that, when the uncle makes a sacrifice, the sister's son takes away the sacred
> portion offered to the gods, and may eat it.
>
> . . . The daughter's son must be honoured by his grandfather. He is "a chief" to 603
> him. He may take his grandfather's property, and he may take away the offering that 604
> his grandfather makes to the gods at a kava ceremony. The mother's father and the [425]
> mother's brother are the objects of very similar behaviour patterns, of which the outstanding
> feature is the indulgence on the one side and the liberty permitted on the other.

The daughter's son may intervene in the sacrificial ritual in the same way as the sister's son, the behavior between the mother's father and the daughter's son being much the same as between the mother's brother and the sister's son.

Liberties and jocular remarks may be indulged in with relatives through 604
one's mother's brother, except where the brother-sister tapu interferes. [784]
Such liberties and remarks cannot be reciprocated, for the very reason that
respect towards the father and his relatives is definitely enjoined, and especially
towards the father's sister (*mehekitanga*) and her offspring.

Modern Tongan dictionaries describe the *fahu* as "one that is above the
law," and the verb *fakafahufahu* as "to act as an outlaw." In actual practice
the *fahu* (or *ilamutu*, to use the term of relationship) often did appro- [421]
priate the property of his mother's brother (*tuasina*), who as a rule did [425]
not protest. At the kava ceremony the *fahu* ate the relish presented to his
mother's brother. The grandchildren, also referred to as *fahu*, had the [603]
same privilege (15, p. 30).

cide to make the *pongipongi,* the chief Momotu is sent at once to notify the 622
other lineage. If decision is made by the Haa Ngata Motua, it is not necessary 643
for the Haa Havea to bring gifts, though they will be present in court 651
when the Haa Ngata Motua appear before the Tui Kanokupolu. The death
of any of the king's relatives is an occasion for the *pongipongi,* though not
the only one. It may take place several times a year. For the Haa Ngata
Motua, Ata sets the time. To make the presentation to the Tui Kanokupolu 622
before three o'clock in the afternoon is an offense for which Ata will be 643
blamed. The Tui Kanokupolu is apt to make some caustic remarks, and all 651
of the Haa Ngata Motua must seek pardon (*hu*) from the Tui Kanokupolu, 689
when each chief puts on a huge *taovala* mat reaching up his back and over [292]
his head as a sign of humility. He also dons a necklace of Tahitian chestnut [301]
leaves and sits like a matapule before the Tui Kanokupolu. The posture [516]
thus assumed is cross-legged, with the hands clasped and the two index fingers
resting together and pointing forward. The head must be bowed so that (516)
the supplicant does not look at the ruler. Motuapuaka, the Tui Kanokupolu's matapule, then makes intercession for the offenders. The matapules of the offending Haa Ngata Motua sit behind the offending chiefs and cannot make intercession for their masters.

When the *pongipongi* is made at the proper time, Motuapuaka requests 622
the presenting chiefs to show their gifts. The covers of the baskets of food 643
are lifted by the commoners who have carried them in for the chiefs. In 651
addition to the Haa Ngata Motua or Haa Havea chiefs who are making the presentation, all of the chiefs of the Tui Kanokupolu's court are supposed to be present.

Similar presentations of food, also called *pongipongi,* are said to have been made anciently to the Tui Tonga.

A ceremony in which the proper representatives of chiefly families present
kie mats to a great chief or to the king is called *tookie.* It is held on [764]
occasions such as deaths, marriages, or great feasts. The term *tookie* might [585]
refer also to the division of such *kie* gifts among the members of the family [574]
of the one to whom they were presented. The general making of presents [431]
to a chief is called *tukufatongia.*

Although I was not present at any presentation of food to the Tui Kanokupolu, 431
I saw in 1920 processions of people bringing food to the house of 793
Mr. Watkin, President of the Free Church, who was temporarily staying at the house of the Free Church minister in the village of Pangai, Lifuka Island. On October 4, thirty to forty people, mostly women, bearing vegetables and fruits assembled at the house of the mayor of Pangai. When all were assembled, they formed a procession, the women wearing great *taovala* mats as signs of respect and humility, and several pairs of men at the end of the line bearing bunches of coconuts and bananas slung from poles on

their shoulders. The procession moved slowly forward to the house where 431
Mr. Watkin was sojourning. On entering the premises the people shouted 793
and drums were beaten. On October 5, other processions brought gifts of
food. These were accompanied by a playing band and intermittent church
meetings were held. On the day of his arrival, Mr. Watkin was paid a 793
signal honor such as was anciently paid to the Tui Tonga or the Tamaha. 576
When he neared the landing place ten black-frocked ministers of the Free Church waded into the water, picked up the row boat, and carried it bodily ashore with him in it.

SOCIAL CLASSES

Although there is much gradation in rank, the Tongans recognize three 565
general classes of people—chiefs (*houeiki*), chiefs' attendants (matapule), and commoners (*tua*). Commoners are sometimes called also *kainanga oe fonua* (eaters of the land; *kainanga*, one who eats the leavings of others), *lauvale* (an opprobrious term), or *matatangata* (good-looking—a more or less complimentary term). To symbolize weakness and strength, the term *polata* (banana stalk) is applied to commoners, and *fau* (*Hibiscus*), to chiefs. An example of what would seem an opprobrious epithet for a group of people is Puaka Haa Ngana (Pigs of the Lineage of Ngana), applied to the people of Haano and Uiha islands, Haapai, who are under the chiefs Tui Haa Ngana and Malupo.

The attitude of the lower classes towards their chiefs is one of respect 622
and obedience. Undoubtedly the chiefs and the matapule are far better informed 565
than are the commoners. A man and wife on Nomuka Island who gave me a considerable amount of information advanced their opinions with some diffidence and apologetically said, "We do not know everything, because we are only matapule people. You should go to the chiefs."

In relation to the Queen and to the Queen's viceroys (the governors of 643
the Haapai and Vavau groups) all subjects are relatively speaking commoners. 565
I had this forcibly visualized for me at several assemblages (*fono*) 634
when the Governor of Haapai was present. Because he took the place of the Queen, high chief and commoner alike appeared before him wearing ragged mats as emblems of respect and humility.

In a generic sense, the term *tua* is applicable to any person, even a chief 565
or matapule, who is not "clever in Tongan ways," who does not act according 596
to the prescribed Tongan etiquette, or who is rude or boorish. This [576]
term also may be used by the head of a family in reference to its members, [593]
but may not be used about people of low rank in another family. It is employed also when one is angry, as, for example, *oua angafakatua* (do not act like a commoner).

Tui Vakano to become a Christian was deprived of his title (*liukava* or *liua*, 622
to debase, to dethrone, to depose) by his outraged constituents—a procedure [798]
which suggests the Samoan practice. There probably were normally no assemblages (*fono*) in which the people expressed opinions. In ancient *fono*, [621]
as in the modern *fono*, the people gathered to hear the orders of the chiefs,
not to debate.

The idea prevails that a chief is normally a large, portly person. On 622
one occasion my interpreter remarked, "Can't you see he is a chief? See 826
how big he is." 142

This observation corroborates Wilson (65, pp. 384, lxix):

> In their persons, the men of the superior rank all seem a larger race than ourselves, or the common people . . . . at Tongataboo more muscular, and affecting a more stately gait and superiority. . . . At Tongataboo some [women] were held in highest reverence, and Futtafaihe himself paid one elderly woman the same expression of homage which he received from every other chieftain.
>
> The submission paid to the chiefs, and the distinction of private property were much greater here than at Otaheite.
>
> At Tongataboo, the chiefs, to secure plenty, changed their abodes to other islands (65, p. 385).

Chiefs had many prerogatives. Special bathing holes, many of them wells 622
which required many men to dig, were reserved for the chiefs, though 515
occasionally a chief would allow certain of his retainers to use a bathing 312
well. A few wells, far from the establishment of the chiefs, were permitted
to commoners for bathing and drinking water. Should a commoner bathe [565]
in a chief's well on the sly, it was believed that he would become ill and [753]
die either from the swelling of his abdomen or of his neck. Women had [562]
special bathing places set aside for them. On Lifuka, Haapai, the beach
on the lee (western) side of the island was tapu to commoners for bathing.
Five wells—Utulupe, Vailupesia, Hoaheu, Teleki, and Onemato—all the
property and bathing places of former chiefs, have been described elsewhere
(25). It is related that at the well called Hoaheu the bathing chiefs were [541]
entertained by gladiatorial combats in which two commoners with clubs fought
until one was killed. It was at one of these wells, Onemato, that Mariner's
patron, Finau, bathed when on his way to visit his brother Tupouniua.

Of food, the chiefs, of course, had the best. First fruits and the first 622
of each catch of fish were brought to them. The milk of only small, quite 262
ripe coconuts was used by chiefs; a retainer presenting a large coconut was
liable to be knocked down or beaten. On occasions, such food as the hard [252]
Tahitian chestnut (*ifi*) was chewed to a pulp by an attendant before being
given to the chief to eat.

Visitors of low rank brought a gift of kava, which was handed to the 622 276
chief by his matapule. Failure to bring this gift resulted in a severe repri- 431

mand. Kava was also brought as a peace offering. A high chief, who was 622
coöperating with me in gathering data, left word for an old man to come to 276
our temporary residence, distant four or five miles. The old man fail- 436
ing to come, a second messenger was sent with a threat of horsewhipping. [123] 622
Thereupon the old man came as speedily as his years permitted, bearing a 687
large piece of kava. He was profuse in his apologies, saying that he did 576
not know whom it was that had requested his appearance. I noticed that [554]
servants of this chief in approaching bent low and that if he was seated [357]
near the door of the house they would make their exit through a window [516]
rather than pass near him.

A general tapu is placed upon the dishes and the remains of food or 565
drink of a person higher in rank. It was thought that one breaking this tapu 264
would suffer from sore throat, but the person of rank might offset the evil 784
consequences by stroking the throat of the unfortunate person with the hand [753]
(anciently also with the feet). This tapu which holds throughout Tongan [755]
society is particularly observed between a chief and his underlings. To eat in front of a chief is likewise forbidden, the difficulties being avoided by eating with the back turned to the chief (*kaitafoki*).

The head of a person, also the back, is tapu to one of lower rank; it 622
is tapu to pass close behind a chief. At big kava parties a great chief who 576
does not sit in the kava ring takes a position which makes passing behind 565
him unnecessary. 784 [826]

The food of a chief had to be prepared in a certain style and certain 622
portions of mammals or birds were regarded as belonging by special prerog- 262
ative to the chief. A roast pig is presented to a chiefly person in the fol- 252
lowing manner: After the pig has been removed from the oven and placed on its back on the hand barrow, sections of fresh banana leaves tied in place by strips of banana leaf are wrapped about the extremities of the four legs,
the nose, and the region of the rectum. The purpose of this treatment was [784]
said to be the concealing of all those parts of the pig most in contact with anything dirty or filthy. The four parts of a pig which are regarded as fit food for a chief are in order of importance: (a) the back (*tua*), (b) the head (*ulu*), (c) the rump (*tuungaiku*), (d) the chest (*fatafata*), spoken of as the common part.

In serving chickens and pigeons to chiefs, the parts in order of importance are: (a) the rump with the oil glands (*muimui*), (b) the skin of the neck and back (*kiliikia*), (c) the legs (*alanga*), (d) the wings and chest (*hikehika*). I saw the operation of dividing a fowl for a high chief. The oil glands and the bit of skin near the rump were given him first. Then the skin at the base of the skull was broken with the fingers and stripped down the back of the neck on to the back.

Coiled baskets (***katoalu***) are made by women, but never for their own 285
use. Most of them are intended as gifts to a chief or for presents at wed- [431] ●
dings, funerals, or similar occasions. The basket may be used by the recipient,
but many baskets, particularly openwork baskets, seem to be put to no
practical use.

Wooden bowls were made by men who probably were *tufunga langafale.* 322

Tongan medical treatment is a mixture of magic and herb doctoring. 755
(See page 338.) Most of the doctors are commoners, and may be either 757
male or female (*tangata faitoo* or *fefine faitoo*). They are not appointed 759
by chiefs, but usually follow the practice of a parent, thus keeping the [565
knowledge a secret within the family. Payment (*tukutoo*) is made after a 462
cure, in the form of a feast, during which valuable articles (*koloa,* wealth) 622
such as tapa and mats are placed in front of the doctor. The supercisor 428
of boys was termed *faikaukau* of *faitefe.* (See p. 188.) 465
309]

While barbers, according to Mariner, might be either men or women, most 305
of them are said to have been women. Women of chiefly rank could serve 462
as barbers for chiefs. 565

TITLES OF MATAPULES AND ARTISANS

The following list includes the matapule titles which I have recorded, 565
together with the origin of each title and the relationships of the incumbents 551
so far as known. The titles of artisans are included, though all of them 624
may not be strictly matapule titles. (See p. 144.) 644
463
554

Afeaki, matapule to the Tui Kanokupolu. Resides in Haapai.

Afu Haa Laufuli, a matapule of the Haa Molofaha, serving the Tui Kanokupolu; resides in Vavau. Anciently he was matapule to the Tui Haa Takalaua and had a house at Fonuamotu, Tongatabu, the residence of the Tui Haa Takalaua.

Afu Haa Mango, a matapule. Residence Okoa Island, Vavau.

Ahomee, a carpenter (*tufunga fale*) appointed by the chief Ahomee in whose *tofia* at Utui, Vavau, he lives. He was preceded in title by his father and his father's father. The present holder of the title is said to be a younger brother of the chief Ahomee.

Akauola, the *toutai* (navigator) of the king of Tonga. A member of the Haa Toutai. He is said to be of Samoan descent, the Samoan form of his title being Laauola. Akauola and Moala are related.

Angakehe, a matapule in the village of Uiha, Uiha Island, Haapai, serving the chief Malupo of that place.

Faingaa, a *toutai ika* (fisherman) of Talau, Vavau Island. Perhaps this is one of the Falefa matapules, for his partner is Mapu, as with Falefa matapules.

Fakatea, ruler of Vavau displaced by Tuituiohu, the "governor" sent there by the Tui Tonga Pau. Fakatea is said to have been only a matapule.

**Fakatulolo, also called Lutui and Fokololo. A matapule of the Haa Toutai, now
serving the Tui Kanokupolu, but formerly serving the Tui Haa Takalaua. The first
incumbent is said to have come from the Tokelau Islands. Fokololo is the name of [291]
the garment worn by people when going into the sea. The first Fakatulolo of whom
I have record was succeeded by his son Siu, who was succeeded by his daughter's son
Tukia, who was succeeded by his brother Ngongo. A Fakatulolo died August 5, 1897.**

land as descendants of Mataeletuapiko, the third Tui Kanokupolu, the Haa 423
Ngata Motua chiefs already having land there. The tracts formerly be- 622
longing to the Haa Havea have now passed to Ata who is the hereditary lord. 103

The tract Vaoleleva, which is situated near Huatolitoli in the Hahake 173
district, Tongatabu, was given by the Tui Tonga to Lavaka-vaoleleva and
Ahomee. It was named after Lavaka-vaoleleva in gratitude for his hospi-
tality to the Tui Tonga on the occasion when the Tui Tonga's preparations
for a voyage to Vavau were delayed by a great famine in Tongatabu. On [251]
this occasion the meals were prepared from two great (breadfruit?) storage
pits, of which there were many in the tract.

Following the slaying of the Tui Haa Takalaua Mulikihaamea in 1799,
a man named Tongalava is reputed to have removed the body to Mua from
a rock on which his slayers had placed it. At Mua it lay in state in a [764]
funerary house (*tolia*) for six months, while the royal tomb Langi Loamanu
was being erected. After the funeral the relatives of the deceased gave three [764]
parcels of Mulikihaamea's land to Tongalava, in gratitude for his service. [431]
The parcels are the tracts Toutai, Toutai II, and Tatai. These were to be
forever the property of his descendants, the donors said.

HAAPAI

The following narrative concerning land ownership in Haapai is told 173
by Tevita Tunai, of Faleloa, Foa Island, Haapai. 643 648

> When they were preparing for the Tui Tonga's trip to Samoa the people gathered 484 431
> presents for this trip and then Helu brought the presents and the chiefs sailed. When
> they arrived in Samoa they distributed the presents and the Samoans were pleased
> with the presents that Helu gave them. When the expedition returnd to Tonga, the
> Tui Tonga told Helu to choose anything he liked as a reward for his efficient services. 643
> Helu told the Tui Tonga just to give him a little piece of land. The Tui Tonga said, 431
> "Come and carry me." Then they went up to a hill called Toloke in Haano Island, 423
> and they turned back from there and then the Tui Tonga asked, "How is this?" Helu 173
> replied, "Go on to the promotory (*muifonua*) at Fakakakai."
>
> Then Helu said, "Give me the promontory Houmatala," and Helu was satisfied when this was done.
>
> Helu died and was buried in Lotofoa in a cemetery called Monotapu. The first [212]
> Tungi told Tooi and Niulala to remove Helu's bones to Houmatala to bear witness
> that that is Helu's land, and then they cut a stone and inscribed the name and the date
> and the year. This stone was set up as a witness that the promontory was Helu's. The
> Tui Haa Takalaua was the immediate overlord anciently. The brother of the present
> Helu (who is mayor of Lotofoa) was matapule to the first Tungi, who replaces the
> abolished Tui Haa Takalaua line.

VAVAU

Maatu, lord of Niuatoputapu, claimed unsuccessfully the island of Ma- 423
fana in the Vavau group upon the following basis: 428 173

There is a mound at Siesia, Nukunukumotu Island, known to be the place 846
of burial of the umbilical cord of a woman of rank, named Mafitoutai.

Nothing was learned of any special attitude towards twins (*mahanga*), 845
except that they were thought desirable.

An attempt is made to flatten the nose of the infant by pressure fre- 856
quently applied with the fingers. Large calves and small ankles, which
are regarded as a mark of beauty, are sought to be developed by frequent
massaging of the flesh of the child from the ankle upward and from the
knee downward.

GIRLS' PUBERTY OBSERVANCES

A lock of hair over one temple (called *fangafanga*) was worn by young 302
girls until virginity was lost. Thereafter the hair was cut short (shaved, 852
one informant said) from the forehead straight back to the neck. This 836
was done as soon as the loss of virginity became known, and whether the 884
loss was due to marriage or illicit relations. The daughter of a great chief [622]
might wear all her hair of her head at full length until her marriage, but [565]
not thereafter. The term *fakahaalavaka* was used to designate the par-
ticular style in which a chiefly girl of the Haa Havea wore her hair as a
sign of virginity. Baker (2) uses this term as the designation of long
hair worn as a sign of virginity by any girl.

Chiefly families still observe the ancient ceremonies connected with the 881
incipiency of womanhood. These observances were formerly general. When [565]
the first period of a daughter of a great chief arrives, her mother is notified
and then her father informed. The mother will say to him: "Our daughter
has commenced to menstruate today." The girl is then forbidden to bathe 881
during this first period, because of the belief that it would stop the flow. 841
She is painted all over with turmeric by her mother on the first day and [515]
then put to bed, as though she were sick, to remain for the rest of the [302]
period. While she is lying in bed a big feast is held, given by her father, [574]
but supervised by the father's sister. Gifts are distributed by the mother. [431]
When the flow ceases, the girl bathes. She is accompanied by an old [515]
female attendant. She and the old woman chew *tuitui* (candlenut), *langa-* [824]
kali flowers, *nukonuka* flowers, and *pako* grass root, or other sweet-smelling
plants. These masticated plants are rubbed over the body before bathing [302]
and the candlenut is used as soap.

No deity had charge of the girl during her period. Girls were not [776]
married before first menstruation. [582]

The first period of the daughter of the Tui Tonga was marked by the 643
following observances. The girl was painted with turmeric, she was for- 881
bidden to bathe, and she slept on and under black tapa to hide the blood [515]

and because that kind of tapa was stiff and would stand away from her 643
body. Presents were brought by all the surrounding country people and 881
presented to the Tui Tonga. The men brought kava and food. The women [515]
brought mats, tapa, baskets, wooden pillows, and other valuable articles. 643
The gift was called (both men's and women's together), *katoanga oe ngata* 881
(literally, the finishing feast), probably in reference to the termination of 431
childhood. The permanent gifts went to the Tui Tonga and his family;
the food gifts were distributed among the people gathered to celebrate the
occasion. There was no confinement of the girl or food tapu.

During menstruation in general, women took care of the flow by 841
means of a piece of tapa rolled up and inserted between the legs, where it
was held in place merely by leg pressure. Any piece of old softened tapa
would be used for such purpose.

BOYS' PUBERTY OBSERVANCES

The *tope,* a long lock of hair, worn by small boys over the temple was 881
cut off at puberty, perhaps on the precise occasion of "circumcision." One 302
informant stated that a boy entered manhood, when his voice changed and
hair began to develop on his body and face, and that then his lock of hair
was cut off. Two other informants were certain that a youth's hair was
cut man fashion immediately after the tapu following "circumcision" was
lifted.

Circumcision, or better supercision because of the character of the 304
operation, usually took place between the years of twelve and sixteen, but 881
is said to have been performed on boys as young as six years in age. All [643]
males were circumcised except the Tui Tonga. The adoption of Christianity [797]
seems not to have in any way curtailed the practice except that the Hebrew [178]
method has partially displaced the Tongan method.

The terms *tefe* (the vulgar word) and *kaukau* (the word of polite society) are the precise designations for the Tongan operation which con- 304
sists in making a longitudinal slit in the upper surface of the foreskin.
The term *kamu* is also applied, but means truly to circumcise (cut around)
and might be applied to a hand or a tree. It is a term of little respect and
is applied to the Hebrew form of circumcision. Both operations are now [657]
performed for the male population by the Government medical officers.

Supercision was regarded as a sign of manhood and any youth who 881
declined to be operated upon would be forbidden to eat with the other [626]
members of the household, must not touch another's food, and would be
spurned by the girls. An uncircumcised person is called *kou* or *taetefe*.

Boys were usually operated on in groups called *lango mamalu*. I recall
such a group in the Government hospital at Nukualofa in 1921. A chief's

On the morning of the sixth day the boys went out and bathed in the ocean. This 881
bath was called *kaukautapu*. Each boy took off his own bandages and bathed without 515
anyone's aid. When they returned to the shore the operator and two assistants met them 752
and redressed and bandaged the boys in the same fashion as formerly. This bandage is
said to have had no name other than *lalava*, or *haihai*.

There followed a big feast, although the operator was furnished free food throughout 881
the period. All the women ate by themselves; the men ate with the boys. The tapu was 574
lifted and this fact was announced to each boy by his father or male guardian. A present [264]
of oven products (food), mats, tapa, and other materials was assembled by the fathers [789]
of the boys and presented to the operator. Other ovens were opened for the general feast [593]
in honor of the boys. No present was given them. Even if a boy died from the opera-
tion, as sometimes occurred, the father of this boy contributed his share to the present [431]
for the operator. The boy was always believed to have died because he broke some one [761]
of the tapus. After this feast, the tapus were resumed for four more days and nights. [789]
Bandages, like the first, were worn for two weeks after this feast. The tapus are said to [752]
have had no names.

MARRIAGE

Collocott (12) has published a brief account of marriage in Tonga, but 58
it seems worth while to present my data here, as they are fuller in some 114
particulars.

Marriages are classified as *feofaaki* (for love), *aleai* (arranged) and *fa-* 581
tongia (duty), this last term applying only to cross-cousin marriages. To 595
marry two wives at one and the same time is called *hamaua*.

Wilson (66, p. liv) states: [837]

> Polygamy is established, but adultery is punished with death. [684]
>
> The lascivious practices which are almost universal there [Georgian Islands] seem 548
> to be usually restricted here to common prostitutes of the lowest class. [171]

The Tongan term for prostitute is *muitau*. It is perhaps to such a [837]
person that the term *finelangatotoa* (a woman who steals home from her
paramour's house before the break of day) would be also applied.

The principal relative concerned with marriage plans of young people 584
is the father's sister. She may often take upon herself the ordering of the 604
marriage arrangements of her brother's children and may veto their plans
of marriage and impose her own. A girl destined to become the wife of 584 [illegible]
a chief wears two long tresses, one on each side of her head. 302

As mentioned by Collocott (12, p. 222) an oven of food (*veifua*) is 585 543
presented to the bride by her brother. 431

The sororate (*tongipou*), following the death of the wife, was practiced 587
in Tonga but the levirate was said to be infrequent. Cross-cousin mar- 582
riage of a man to his mother's brother's daughters was common among [622] [565]
chiefs, but rare among commoners. A girl who becomes the bride of her
cross cousin is denoted by the term *kititama*. Marriage to identical cousins
was regarded as improper. The only such marriage recorded was on Ata
Island where were also a considerable number of cross-cousin marriages

there. The prospective bride took up her temporary residence at a house specially set 585
up by, or donated to the use of, her people. If she chanced to dwell in the same community as the bridegroom's father, no special temporary abode would, of course, be required.

Both bride and bridegroom were presented with the detergent candlenut (*tuitui*) [515]
and tapa towels (*helo*) some days previous to marriage, so that they might prepare themselves for one another, the length of time depending on when the guests were to arrive. These things might or might not be used and some were given away afterwards to relatives.

Preceding the day of the beginning of the ceremony, the fathers of the bride and groom each assembled a large gift, including tapa, mats, and oil. The particular father notified all his relatives and all his wife's relatives of the coming ceremony and asked for contributions. He did not himself contribute unless the poorness of the lot of gifts made it seem necessary.

On the morning when the ceremony began, the principals prepared for the occasion,
each at his or her father's place of residence. Each was attended by a man and a woman, [602]
both called *fae* (mother), and related to each through his or her mother. The person's
own mother never acted as *fae* in marriage ceremonies. Each family had a related family [593]
whose members were to act as *fae* when occasion demanded. The family acting as
fae called the family to which it acted *eiki*, and in return was called *tua*.

The *fae* bathed the bride and bridegroom, anointed them with coconut oil from [515]
head to foot, and clothed them with many mats, whose number and fineness of quality [302]
depended upon the rank of the families represented. Often as many as ten mats were [291]
wrapped about the waist. [554]

The complete name of the "mother" was *fae eveeva* (mother to walk for pleasure).
When ready, the bride waited for the bridegroom at her father's house. The two *fae*
stood at her sides, the male *fae* at her right hand and the female *fae* at her left. Each
had a coconut leaf basket in which there was a quantity of *fetaaki* (unprinted tapa) and
a gourd of oil. Every few minutes the *fae* would anoint the bride's arms, neck, face, [302]
and exposed parts of her legs with the oil, while all the spectators would shout, "Tue!
tue!" (to shout, to triumph over).

When the bridegroom was ready, he started out toward the bride's house, walking 585
slowly, his *fae* accompanying him, arranged as were those of the bride. They also were 431
equipped with *fetaaki* and oil and stopped the bridegroom about every ten steps to anoint [302]
him. Then the crowd following would shout as above. Behind him followed his people
in procession carrying the gifts of foods and manufactured articles gathered together
by his people.

When the bridegroom and his people arrived at the place where the bride and her people waited, the gifts from the groom's relatives were presented to the bride's, being deposited before the house in two lines running parallel to the house front. The line closer to the house consisted of the manufactured articles (*koloa*) such as tapa and mats, furnished by the women of the bridegroom's people. The outer line consisted of oven (food) gifts and kava called *ngaue* (work), furnished by the men of the bridegroom's people.

After the presentation of gifts everyone repaired to the bridegroom's house. The processional order was: (1) the bridegroom and bride accompanied by the four *fae*; (2) carriers of the presents from the bride's people to the bridegroom's people, the *koloa* preceding the *ngaue*; (3) relatives of bridegroom and bride not occupied in carrying the presents, surrounded and followed by the crowd of friends and spectators. When the procession reached the bridegroom's house, the presents from the bride's people were placed before the house in the same order as were the bridegroom's presents at the woman's house.

(On August 12, 1920, while passing along a Nukualofa street about 3 p. m. I saw approaching a procession of people bearing mats and tapa. Many had the articles

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wrapped about their waists so that their arms were held far out from their sides. Six 585
men carried a huge bundle of tapa and mats by means of three long poles. Eight
women carried a huge mat, probably 12 feet wide and 40 feet long. The procession [285]
moved slowly and was bound to the house of George Kupu, who was married the day [482]
before.)

Then a kava circle composed of relatives was formed, the bridegroom presiding, the 585
bride seated at his left, each of them seated upon the lap of either of their two officiating 276
fae, the bride usually sitting on the lap of her male *fae*. 594

Only one bowl of kava was served. Following that came the distribution of the 585
presents (*vahevahe*). The *ngaue* was first distributed among the assembled relatives of 431
the bridegroom. The bride's relatives later received their share of the bridegroom's [276]
present to her people, at the hands of the bride's father or other officiating family representative. In this distribution of food the ranking members of the consanguinary group [554]
received the best parts, and so on in ranking order. If there was not enough to go around, the lesser representatives of the group went without, or the bridegroom's father might feel it his duty to supply food for these from his own oven.

Then the *koloa* was divided into two equal parts and distributed, but not until the bridegroom had selected in proportion to the amount a number of articles to be used in his own house. The bride also chose a like share of the man's presents to her people. In distributing the presents, the bridegroom's father or other official representative of his people (according to some informants it was the father's sister who distributed the wealth) had in mind what each person had donated toward the present that had been given to the bride's people, and each got his original gift returned in double quantity.
In accomplishing this return, the distributor often stripped his own house of all its 585
possessions, counting the social prestige of his family of greater value than his material 554
property. If he should fail to complete the traditional remuneration to all concerned, his 431
unmarried sons and daughters and the progeny of his married children lost face and might consequently fail to contract desirable marriages. If the distributor had insufficient goods to meet the demands, he set his household to work making tapa, mats, baskets, oil, and other articles required.[b]

A similar distribution was made of the presents of the bridegroom's people to the bride's people.

If there was great inequality in the size of the wedding gifts, the group making the smaller donation was shamed and lost social prestige to the other group. It is not to be implied that this portioning out of the *koloa* took place in one day. It began immediately after the breaking of the kava circle, but it often lasted a month and even two months.

Throughout an entire marriage ceremony, the bridegroom's father, or nearest pa- 585
ternal relative if the father were dead, was vested with peculiar authority. This office is said to have had no name. He was the proper one to announce the date on which the ceremony should begin. He denied the bridegroom the privilege of consorting with the bride until an appointed time. On the first night (third night?) after the exchange of gifts, he instructed the bridegroom to test the bride with his finger to determine if she
were a virgin. This testing was called *moheakii*. If her virginity was confirmed, this [554]
man stated the period of time that must elapse before the bride and bridegroom might
live together as man and wife, anywhere from three days to two months, the length of [565]
the period of continence being in direct ratio to the bridegroom's social rank. A *tua* slept with his wife on the first night.

The specific night on which cohabitation took place was definitely determined by the progress of all preparations. The presents had to be apportioned, food for the following feast had to be ready, and minor details of preparation had to be attended to. Near the end of the prescribed tapu period, the father determined through his wife when all preparations would be complete. He then informed the bridegroom that the night was at

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[b] Suggestive of the potlatch system of the north Pacific coast of America.

The reply is given, "We, Motuapuaka and Lauaki; we have come in attendance on 585 Vaoloa" (or whatever may be the bridegroom's name). Then the maiden comes out, 565 and goes with the bridegroom, and this [untranslatable] invocation is uttered, "Tula-no lomai-saiena, tietia i le tafatusema. Singano e tu'u, fa'a mumuni, sa pule mo sa manatu." And they call the names of the bride and bridegroom, "Vaoloa e, Vaoloa e, Takala e, Takala e," or whatever they may be. Individuals have more than one name, but the [551] names used on this occasion are those that are held in esteem. Then they cry, "Mimisoe, mimisoe, alaimafae, alaimafae, asapae, asapae," following this with a loud shout. Someone keeps shouting, over and over again at the top of his voice, "ai, ai, ai, ai," until they come to the bridegroom's house, where an abundance of food has been prepared. Kava 585 is drunk at the bridegroom's house, the bride being the president of the ceremony. If 565 Lauaki and Motuapuaka each has a daughter, the daughters distribute the kava, and 276 continue to perform this duty until the end of the marriage ceremonies. If Lauaki and 574 Motuapuaka have no daughters to do this, they themselves control the distribution. One 431 basket of food (*fono*) is brought to distribute with the kava, the remainder of the food that has been prepared is taken to the bride's home. Every day there are presentations of food and kava (*pongipongi*) until the marriage is completed [or this might be rendered, until the marriage is held]. If the man is not wealthy the festival is held quickly, but if he is illiberal it is delayed for a long time. [Meanwhile, of course, the stingy bridegroom is obliged to entertain the guests.]

Part of the bridegroom's duties is to attend to the building of the *fale manava*, 585 the house on, or near, the green (*malae*) where the marriage festivities are held, and 565 which serves as a dressing-room for the bride.

On the night before the day on which the marriage ceremony actually takes [276] place, the bridegroom's sisters come with kava, and with some of the bride's people drink kava on the *malae*. This is called *kaihaa malae*, stealing the green. The green is swept beautifully clean. A chiefly man is brought to prepare the kava for the ladies.

Early in the morning the drum is beaten for the ceremony and the bride and bride- 585 groom are adorned in dresses provided by the bridegroom. The bride's dress is called 565 the *puke* (seized). It consists of one of the mats called *fihu*, two of the mats called 292 *ngafingafi*, and any specially fine or notable mat (*kie*) which is available for her to put on. It is said that she has been "held" or "seized" with the fine mats. This dress is the *vala fetaki*, dress of going hand in hand. The two go to a house on the *malae*, where there is a great pile of native cloth, provided by the bridegroom, and cloth bound round with the fine mat called *fihu*. This is the *epa* (a sort of bridal throne). They then return to the dressing-room (*fale manava*), and change their dresses, putting on garments provided by the bride. In these fresh garments (called *vala toonga*, consisting perhaps of one each of the mats known as *fihu* and *ngafingafi*), they go again (presumably to the house where is the *epa*) without clasping of hands. When they return this time the dress called *vakai* is put on the bride, and she goes, without the bridegroom, to the house on the green, and sits on her throne. Here she is anointed 585 with turmeric (called the *vala vali*, dress of painting). Then the bridegroom's sister 565 utters an invocation, "May you bear children, yea even twins." Then the bridal kava [302] is served, accompanied with large quantities of food.

After that the drum is beaten for the native dance, and the woman goes and puts on [276] other mats and returns and walks about. After the dance, the drum is beaten for the [264] couple dance (dancing in pairs). Then comes the night dance which lasts until dawn 585 of the next day. Sometime during the night the *piha pongipongi* is held, and the basket 565 of food is brought which is called *lomi piha*. It is portioned out. Food is also portioned 535 out to the dancers.

Is there anything that has not its food ceremony? Each food ceremony has its 585 meaning. The coconuts to be cooked are brought green and in bunches. This is the food 565 brought by the woman's party. The coconuts are gathered in bundles and the cooked 264 food is gathered in bundles. These are the special baskets of food: the *veifua*, which is

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000 obliged to be worked every half hour out of two. 114 By this time finding she had missed Otaheite, by reason of an adverse current, she steered to the westward for the Tonga islands, and on Thursday the 27th of November saw that part of them called the Hapai islands, bearing W. 12 miles. The leak had now increased to eighteen inches per hour.

On Saturday, the 29th of November, 1806, at 4 P. M. the Port au Prince brought to, for the last time, in 7 fathoms water at the N. W. point of one of the Hapai islands, called Lefooga, in the same place where Captain Cook had formerly anchored. In the evening a number of Indian 721 chiefs came on board with a large barbacued 609 hog, and a quantity of ready dressed yams, as a 114 present to the ship's company: with them came [431] a native of Owhyee, who spoke a little English, which he had formerly learned on board an American ship, that had taken him from the Sandwich islands to Manilla, and thence had brought him to the Tonga islands. This man, whose name was Tooi Tooi, and whom we shall hereafter have occasion to speak of, endeavoured, by all the means of expression that lay in his power, to convince the ship's company that the natives were disposed towards them in the most friendly manner. Another Sandwich islander, however, whom the Port au Prince had brought along with her, as may be recollected,

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arms, merely to distinguish them from other 175
men, and for the vanity of rendering himself 669
singular by this extraordinary exercise of his 643
authority. This and many other acts of cruelty [644]
laid the groundwork for an insurrection, and a [304]
complete revolution in the affairs of Tonga.

Toobó Nuha, a great chief, and brother of 175
Finow, conceived himself to be exceedingly oppressed 669
by the tyranny of Toogoo Ahoo; till at 643
length he determined to be free, or to die in 634
the attempt. With this view he often conversed with Finow, (at that time tributary chief of the Hapai islands,) sounding his opinion, and spurring him on to the same resolution; with the declaration, that if he would not assist him, he would manage the whole conspiracy himself. Led on partly by these persuasions, but principally by his own private views, Finow entered
into a league with Toobó Nuha. One evening 175
these two, attended by several of their usual 669
followers, waited on Toogoo Ahoo, as was now 643
and then customary, to pay their respects to 634
him, by presents of cava root, *gnatoo*[*], a pig, 726
and several baskets of yams; they then retired. [723]
This served as a plausible reason for their being [431]
that night in the neighbourhood of the king's residence. About midnight they again repaired

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[*] The material of their wearing apparel.

669 had another review like the former; and after
726 remaining two days, sailed with all the rest of
[716] the forces of the confederate islands, amounting in all to about one hundred and seventy canoes, direct for the island of Tonga. Owing to the calmness of the weather, they did not reach their destination the same evening in sufficient time to land, but went on shore at a small island close by, called Pángaimótoo, where they passed the night.

Before morning, several presents were
778 brought to Finow and his chiefs, by the people
[634] living at a consecrated place on the island of
[431] Tonga, called Mafanga. Mafanga is a piece of ground about half a mile square, situated on
[766] the western part of the island. In this spot are the graves where the greatest chiefs from time
[764] immemorial have been buried, and the place is therefore considered sacred; it would be a sacrilege to fight here, and nobody can be prevented from landing: if the most inveterate enemies meet upon this ground, they must look upon each other as friends, under penalty of the displeasure of the Gods, and consequently an untimely death, or some great misfortune. There
726 are several of these consecrated places on differ-
669 ent islands.

634 The following morning, Finow with several
796 of his chiefs and matabooles landed at Ma-
769

fanga: they immediately proceeded to his 726
father's grave, (Mr. Mariner being also with them) 669
to perform the ceremony of Toogi. All who 634
went for this purpose put on mats instead of 796
their usual dress, and wreaths made of the leaves 769
of the *ifi* tree round their necks (significant of [292]
respect and humility). They sat down cross- [824]
legged (the usual way of sitting) before the [516]
grave; Finow, as well as the rest, beating their
cheeks with their fists for about half a minute, 726
without speaking a word. One of the principal 669
matabooles then addressed the spirit of Finow's 634
father to the following purpose: "Behold the 796
"man (meaning Finow) who has come to 769
"Tonga to fight his enemies: be pleased with 782
"him, and grant him thy protection; he comes [565]
"to battle, hoping he is not doing wrong; he
"has always held Tooitonga* in the highest
"respect, and has attended to all religious cere-
"monies with exactness." One of the attend-
ants then went to Finow, and received from
him a piece of cava root, which he laid down on
the raised mount before the Fytoka (burying-
place). Several others, who had pieces of cava
root in their bosoms, went up to the grave in 726
like manner and deposited them. The cere- 669
mony being thus finished, Finow and his friends 634
431
276
796
[643]

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* Tooitonga is a great chief, supposed to be descended from a God.

726
669 returned to the beach, where a large root of cava
634 was brought to them as a present, by the chief
431 of the consecrated place, on which they re-
276 galed.

796 During this time, the greater part of the
forces in the canoes employed themselves in
669 preparing for battle, again painting their bodies
726 and faces after various fanciful forms. The
[714] enemy on shore were also in a state of preparation: they shouted the war-whoop, and ran up and down the beach with furious gestures; splashing up the water with their clubs, brandishing them in the air, flourishing their spears, and bidding bold defiance to their invaders.

Finow and his attendants having returned on
712 board, the whole fleet proceeded to a neigh-
[669] bouring fortress called Nioocalofa, the strongest,
[726] though not the largest, in the whole island. As it will be proper to understand the usual form and construction of these Tonga fortresses, we shall give a general description of them, taking that of Nioocalofa as a model for the rest.

The fortress of Nioocalofa is situated on the western coast of the island, about one hundred yards distant from the water's edge, occupying
712 about four or five acres of ground. It con-
sists, in the first place, of a strong wall or fencing
349 of reeds, something like wicker-work, supported

Mariner, that if he ever met any common fellow 292
with his head covered, he should immediately 565
knock him down. He[A] was, however, allowed, 626
like other foreigners, to wear a headdress [609]
without any restriction, as being supposed [727]
to be governed by different gods, and accustomed to different manners.

But to return to our subject: it may be noticed 634
that the form of the prince's marriage as 585
here related, and which, for the most part, was 177
according to the Hamoa custom, was not very different from that of the Tonga islands; but two parts of the Hamoa ceremony were in this instance left out, viz. the payment of something valuable to the brides' fathers by the bridegroom, such as bales of gnatoo, beads, &c. the brides being virgins: the other part of the ceremony, which in fact was to ascertain whether such payment was justly due, should have been performed by the bridegroom (digito admoto) when he had led his brides back into the house, and re-seated them on the bales of *gnatoo:* but the circumstance alluded to, not being thought by the natives of the Tonga islands consistent with delicacy, was accordingly omitted.

In the evening of the same day, the large 634
house on the *malái* was lighted up with flam- 585
beaus. Singers and dancers of Hapai assem- 177
[431]

A [Mariner--Analyst]

634 bled, and waited the arrival of the prince and
585 his Hamoa friends. In a short time they came
177 with presents of fine mats, dried cava root, &c.
431 (the cava root of the Navigator's islands is
greatly esteemed). These they laid down at
the feet of Finow and his wife, Toobo ve Holla,
who were seated opposite the entrance. Her
majesty returned the compliment by presenting
them with three or four English wine-bottles,
an hour-glass, without either sand or stand, and
some pieces of iron hoop, made sharp in the
form of chisels; which having received, they
retired and seated themselves on one side,
634 opposite the party of Hapai singers. These latter
585 now began a vocal concert, in the language and
177 after the manner of the Hamoa islands. When
533 they had finished, those from Hamoa sung, and
so on alternately during four or five hours, after
which the company broke up. The brides were
not present at this concert; and the
bridegroom, not finding himself much interested in
it, soon gave them the slip.

634 669 This ceremony, and these rejoicings, being
over, Finow again began to turn his attention
634 towards Vavaoo. In the first place he
669 dispatched canoes to the different Hapai islands,
702 with orders to each, that all the male
[722] inhabitants (excepting two of the oldest for each
plantation, to keep them clear of weeds, &c.

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669
728 might think of him, that was the object which
634 was nearest his heart. No sooner did the Vavaoo warrior hear this unexpected declaration,
[431] than he pulled off his turban, and taking a
[576] piece of cava root, went on board Finow's canoe, and, having presented the cava to the king, he kissed his feet as a mark of respect. The king then dismissed him, desiring him to relate to his chiefs the object of his coming, and that he should the same evening, if they would permit him, pass on to Neafoo *, to leave cava there, and the following morning proceed to the fortress, to adjust terms of peace. As soon as the warrior departed with his message,
[796] Finow directed his course up an inlet to Neafoo, where he arrived and landed without any opposition, and, having left cava with the usual ceremony (see p. 89), he returned on board, and passed the night in another branch of the inlet leading up to the fortress; towards which, early the following morning, he proceeded with
[577] the three canoes. At first, he intended to land in person, and ascend the hill to address the garrison; but from this he was dissuaded by his chiefs: he then determined to go near to

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[778] * Neafoo is situated on the N. E. shore of Vavaoo, and is a consecrated place, like Mafánga, formerly described, where the ceremony of Tooge was performed. At Neafoo are several houses consecrated to different gods.

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into the artful character of Finow, with much 669
less of the above prejudice, constantly objected 634
to make peace with a man on whose honour 728
and integrity they thought it impossible to rely 793
with any degree of certainty, and who would again give room for a quarrel with the Vavaoo people whenever it suited his purpose. This was their real thought, and perhaps a just one: though they did not express their sentiments with such latitude to the priests: to these they merely objected their apprehensions, that in the event of a peace, Finow would, at some fit opportunity, wreak his vengeance upon them personally for having fought against him. At length, however, they said that as their lives were not a matter of so much consequence as the peace and happiness of Toe Oomoo and her people generally, they were willing to withdraw their objections, that the affair might be speedily settled according to the wishes of the older chiefs. The priests now returned to Neafoo with the warmest assurances from the chiefs of Felletoa, that they would pay Finow an amicable visit the following day.

The next morning the chiefs and warriors of 669
Felletoa, with several women, were seen coming 728
towards Neafoo, advancing two and two, all [292]
armed, painted and decorated with streamers, [431]
forming altogether a very beautiful and ro-

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669 mantic procession, bringing with them abund-
728 ance of gnatoo, yams, &c. as presents to their
[292] relations. In this way they entered the fortress
[431] of Finow, and came into the king's presence on
● [431] the *malái*, where he was seated with his chiefs
[431] and matabooles. The Vavaoo people then laid
down their spears, which were afterwards shared
out to three of Finow's principal chiefs, who
again shared them out to all those below them
[276] in rank*. They seated themselves round the
[565] *malái*, and cava was prepared, the young chiefs
and warriors of Felletoa waiting on the com-
[701] pany†. All this time Finow's men were un-
armed‡, (agreeably to the custom on such oc-
casions) but by his orders the greater part re-
mained at their houses where their arms were
deposited, for he was upon his guard lest his
guests had some stratagem to play: but he had
merely signified to his men, that it would be
better for them to remain at their houses, as it

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[*] Mr. Mariner believes this to be always the case on such occasions; but this was the only instance of a peace formally established, that ever happened while he was there.

[†] It is an honourable office to assist at cava parties, it is therefore generally filled by young chiefs.

[‡] The visitors come armed for the sake of parade, giving up their arms afterwards as presents; those that receive them must be unarmed as a proof of their amicable disposition, and that they do not mean to get them in their power by stratagem.

669 sign the government of the Hapai islands to
728 Toobó Tóa, who was to send him annual tri-
[634] bute.

When the cava was finished the company rose up, and the Vavaoo party returned to Felletoa, to prepare an entertainment for the Hapai people the following day.

634 Early the next morning all the chiefs, mata-
669 booles, and warriors of Neafoo, painted and de-
728 corated themselves with streamers, and put on
541 mats, in token of Finow's inferiority as a rela-
[292] tion to his aunt Toe Oomoo, chief of the for-
[301] tress of Felletoa. They took spears in their
[604] hands, and, thus equipped, marched out of
[431] Neafoo, two and two, with Finow at their head,
carrying with them presents for their relations
634 in the opposite garrison. In this order they
669 entered Felletoa, and proceeded to the *malái*,
728 where all the chiefs and matabooles of Toe
604 Oomoo were seated ready to receive them. A
quantity of hogs, yams, and fowls, were depo-
sited in the middle of the circle, at the upper
end of which a place was left vacant for the
king to preside in, for, his aunt not being there,
[276] he was the greatest chief present. Had Toe
[574] Oomoo been also present, she must have pre-
sided, at the head of the circle, and the king,
as her inferior relation, must have seated him-
self opposite to her, on the outside of the cir-

cle, among the common people; for no two re- 634
lations of different rank can sit in the same cir- 669
cle together*. On this account, and out of 728
respect to Finow, he being sovereign, Toe 604
Oomoo did not make her appearance. Finow 276
being seated, his men, as they came in, depo- 574
sited their spears in the middle of the circle,
to be afterwards shared out in the same manner
as was done by the Vavaoo people at Neafoo 669
the day before; they then retired to the out- 728
side of the circle, ready to wait upon the com- 276
pany. A large root of cava was then split into 574
pieces, and distributed to be chewed as usual. [431]
While the cava was preparing, the provisions
were shared out, ready to be eaten after the
cava was drunk. This being done, and the 634
provisions consumed, a second course of cava 604
was prepared and served out, of which Finow 728
having drunk a small quantity, retired to pay a 669
visit to his aunt. When he arrived in her pre-
sence he went up to her, and, with great re-
spect, kissed her hand, and she, in return,
kissed his forehead†. He then sat down to [276]

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* An accurate and full description of the ceremonious regulations of a cava party will be given in the second volume.

† When a person salutes a superior relation, he kisses the hand of the party; if a very superior relation, he kisses the foot: the superior in return kisses the forehead. There may be some doubt as to the propriety of the term *to kiss* in this ceremony, for it is not performed by the lips after our [576]

634 half-yearly, as usual: at the same time, all the
651 natives of Hapai, who had come to the war,
were to return with their chief. On this occasion
the young prince (Finow's son, Moegnagnongo)
634 went with Toobó Tóa to the Hapai
727 islands, as he wished to look over his lands on
the island of Foa; and Mr. Mariner accompanied
484 the prince, as he preferred his character
and habits to those of his father. They arrived
safe at this island after a quick passage of about
nine hours.

634 at the ceremony of *Inachi*, or offering the first fruits of the
season to the gods, in or about the beginning of October;
651 and again at some other time of the year, when the tributary
chief may think proper, and is generally done when some
article is in great plenty. The tribute levied at the time of
the *Inachi* is general and absolute; that which is paid on
the other occasion comes more in form of a present, but is so
established by old custom, that, if it were omitted, it would
431 amount to little less than an act of rebellion. It may here
with propriety be observed, that the practice of making presents
565 to superior chiefs is very general and frequent. The
higher class of chiefs generally make a present to the king,
of hogs or yams, about once a fortnight: these chiefs, about
the same time, receive presents from those below them, and
these last from others, and so on, down to the common people.
The principle on which all this is grounded is of course
fear, but it is termed respect (*ofa*).

Toobó Nuha, and declared that no personal en- 223
mity existed on his part towards Finow; but, 661
on the contrary, he felt so great an attachment 634
for him, that he would most willingly return [565]
with Filimóëátoo to Vavaoo to pay a visit to
Finow, but that his matabooles would not allow him. Filimóëátoo having remained a day and a night with this chief, returned with the two birds to Finow, and gave him an account of his interview with the chief of Hihifo. Finow received the present, but was by no means well pleased with the refusal of the bird, on which
he had so much set his heart. The following 223
morning, however, he went out to try his suc- 661
cess with these two, and which so far exceeded 634
his expectations, that he wanted more than ever 431
to have the excellent bird, and he immediately set about to obtain it by rich presents. He accordingly got ready sea-horses' teeth, beads, axes, a looking-glass, several iron bolts, and a grinding stone, all of which he had procured from European ships, and chiefly from the Port au Prince. Besides these things, he ordered to be got ready several bales of Vavaoo *gnatoo*, fine Hamoa mats, and a large quantity of cava; the whole of which he gave in charge to Filimóëátoo to take immediately to Hihifo, and present them to the chief, except some of the cava, which he was to distribute among the

223 lower chiefs and matabooles, to engage them
661 more readily in his interest. Finow himself accompanied
634 Filimóëätoo as far as Häáno, (one of
431 the Hapai islands,) and took many of his principal
chiefs along with him, with a view of lessening
223 the consumption of food at Vavaoo. On
661 this expedition there were five canoes, all of
634 which arrived safe at Häáno; and from this
431 island Filimóëätoo proceeded in one canoe with
484 thirty men to Hihifo, where he also arrived
safe, and distributed his presents.

The chief of Hihifo, on this second urgent
223 application from Finow, after some consideration,
661 answered, that as he could not make any
634 use of the bird himself, his time being so much
[565] taken up in constant warfare with his neighbours,
[577] and as *it would not be consistent with the
character of a chief** to retain from another
that which he could not use himself, he would,
at once, resign the bird to Finow, notwithstanding
the high value he placed on it, and
the immense care and trouble it had cost him.
This famous bird was accordingly consigned
to the charge of Filimóëätoo, who returned
with all convenient speed to tell the king the
634 success of his journey. Finow was still at the
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* The chiefs, among themselves, use this sort of expression,—as in civilized countries one would say, *it is not acting like a gentleman.*

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was obliged to give up the design altogether. 764
It was suspected that Finow would have been 152
very angry on hearing her intention, but, on 668
the contrary, he praised it much, and approved of it, as being not only a meritorious act of bravery, but a convincing proof that her affection for her deceased husband was great and genuine.

After this transaction all the Vavaoo chiefs 634
paid remarkable attention to Finow, not failing 565
to send him frequent presents of cava, 431
gnatoo, &c., and this they were the more anxious to do, as, being the richest men in the island, they were apprehensive that, in case their conduct displeased Finow, he might form another conspiracy against them, with a view to deprive them of their possessions; for they now found by woful experience, that he was not a man to be trifled with, and that his honour was not safely to be trusted to.

The king now spent a considerable portion 634
of his time in country excursions, for the pur- 517
pose of shooting *calai*, of which sport a description has already been given. About this 484
time a canoe was dispatched to the Hapai 226
islands, for the purpose of procuring a quan- 133
tity of fish, several species being there found in much greater abundance than at Vavaoo, or, at least, there is a much better opportunity of

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484 catching them, owing to the greater number of
[226 reefs and shelves. With this canoe, a certain
133] chief, named Mahe Boogoo, departed for Ha-
pai, where he possessed a large property, on
423 which he was desirous to reside for the future.
[594 He had also a plantation at Vavaoo, situated
on the northern coast, about a mile and a half
431 long, and half a mile broad, one end of which
634] ran down close to the water's edge: this pro-
823 perty he made a present of to the king. It will
be proper to give a description of this plantation, because it includes, near the sea, the most romantic spot in all the Tonga islands; which constitutes the subject of many of their songs, and is a place of resort to the young and old of both sexes, who wish to enjoy, for a few hours, the luxury of romantic scenery: it is famous, also, for having been, at a former epoch, the scene of an enterprising action on the part of some young chiefs, who took refuge there from their adversaries, and obstinately held their position for six months.

It happens that nature has assembled in this
133 spot, not only the wildest profusion of the ve-
137 getable kingdom, over which the lofty *toa* tree
stands pre-eminent, but also objects of another description, overhanging rocks, hollow-sounding caverns, and steep precipices, calculated to give an aspect as bold and sublime as the ima-

and sometimes, on the contrary, with a profuse 137
perspiration. Here also they plait flowers 515
which they have gathered at Matawto, (about
a mile farther along the beach,) which the 301
women put round their necks or take home to 431
the *mooa*, and present to their lovers or their friends, or to superior chiefs.

The following song is very often sung by 823
them, or, to speak perhaps more correctly, is 533
given in a sort of recitative by either sex; and in the Tonga language has neither rhymes nor regular measure, although some of their songs have both. It is perhaps a curious circumstance that love and war seldom form the subjects of their poetical compositions, but mostly scenery and moral reflections.

SONG.

Whilst we were talking of *Vavdoo toóa Licoo*, the women 823
said to us, let us repair to the back of the island to contem- 533
plate the setting sun: there let us listen to the warbling of 539
the birds and the cooing of the wood-pigeon. We will gather flowers from the burying-place at *Matáwto*, and partake of refreshments prepared for us at *Licoo O'nē:* we will then bathe in the sea, and rinse ourselves in the *Vdoo A'ca;* we will anoint our skins in the sun with sweet scented oil, and will plait in wreaths the flowers gathered at *Matáwto*. And now as we stand motionless on the eminence over *Ana Máuoo*, the whistling of the wind among the branches of the lofty *toa* shall fill us with a pleasing melancholy; or our minds shall be seized with astonishment as we behold the roaring surf below, endeavouring but in vain to tear away the firm rocks.

226 month of July, when the natives flock to this
285 plantation for the purpose of catching them,
where having procured a quantity, they take
them home to their families in baskets made of
plaited leaves of the cocoa-nut tree.

Mahe Boogoo, the chief to whom this valu-
423 able piece of ground belonged, being about to
431 go and reside at the Hapai islands, made a pre-
634 sent of this delightful spot to the king. Mr.
Mariner, having now nothing particular in
727 which to employ himself, the war being at an
423 end, begged of the king to give up this planta-
425 tion to him, that he might amuse himself by
634 seeing it properly cultivated: to this the king,
651 after a little hesitation, consented; when Mr.
609 Mariner requested the farther favour that he
might be exempt from all taxes, that no chief might despoil his plantation, under pretext of levying any species of contribution; and this exemption, he observed, would be no more than what was consistent with the Tonga custom, which exacts no contribution from foreigners, unless indeed it be upon some sacred occasion, as the ceremony of *ináchi*, &c. To this also the king gave his assent, upon mutual agreement, that the whole plantation was to be considered at Finow's service, as being the father and protector of Mr. Mariner, but that he would not take any thing nor trespass upon it

in any way without Mr. Mariner's consent, 727
who was to regulate every thing regarding it 423
just as he pleased, and was henceforth to con- 634
sider it as his property, together with all the [425]
persons who worked on it, consisting of thirteen men and eight women. To these the king gave orders they should pay the same attention and respect to Mr. Mariner as to himself or their former chief; he moreover informed the *matooa*, or overseer, that he had invested Mr. Mariner with full power to dispatch any of them with the club that failed in their duty, or neglected in any respect to shew proper attention to their new master. To this, in the usual form, they all returned thanks to the king for the new chief he had been pleased to appoint over them, and expressed their hopes that they should never deserve punishment by any want
of respect towards the "stranger chief." As [431]
soon as Mr. Mariner entered upon his new possessions, he gave orders to get ready a large bale of gnatoo, which he sent to Finow as a present.

About this time Mr. Mariner was very near 727
being devoured by a shark. One of his servants [226]
that worked upon the plantation had laid pots about four feet deep in the water for the purpose of catching cray-fish, and Mr. Mariner one afternoon dived down to examine them, in

count from several of the natives of Chichia 000
who visited Tonga.

A few days afterwards Cow Mooala set sail 484
for Vavaoo, where he arrived safe with about
fifty attendants, as formerly noted, consisting
of Tonga people, natives of Fiji, and others.
As soon as his arrival was made known to Finow, 527
he issued orders to the owners of the different [431]
plantations of Vavaoo to bring to the *malâi* at
Neáfoo whatever they could afford, as presents
to Cow Mooala and his companions *.

On this occasion there were wrestling, fight- 527
ing with clubs, cava drinking, &c., as formerly 526
described. It must be remarked, however, that when these great exhibitions of wrestling and fighting are shown on account of the arrival of visitors or persons who have been long absent, it is customary for the new comers to be challenged by any one or every one of the island who chooses, so that in the end they are pretty certain of getting a thorough beating. No man, however, is obliged to accept the challenge, nor is it thought dishonourable to refuse it: in short, as they merely beat one another in a friendly way, it is considered a sport for general entertainment, in which any

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* It is always customary to make presents in this way to any newly arrived party, particularly to persons much respected, as was Cow Mooala, or who have been long absent.

by his not stirring, and so took no trouble about 727
him. By this time there were about two hundred small canoes near the vessel, and several large ones, so that all the people of Vavaoo seemed to be assembled to view the brig, for the whole beach was also crowded. As the vessel was very short of provisions, a very brisk traffic was carried on with the natives by the captain and mate, for yams, hogs, &c.: hence orders were given to the crew not to purchase
any more trinkets, till they had procured plenty 648
of provisions. About the middle of the day 727
Finow came alongside with his sister and several 634
of her female attendants, bringing off, as a pre- [431]
sent for Mr. Mariner, five large hogs, and forty large yams, each weighing not less than thirty pounds, and some of the largest sixty or seventy pounds: these things Mr. Mariner begged leave to transfer* to the captain, and presented them accordingly. Notwithstanding repeated messages from the chiefs on shore to Finow, requesting him to return, he resolved to sleep on board that night, if the captain would allow
him, which he readily did. The women, how- 727
ever, intimated their wish to return, not liking 609
the thought of trusting their persons among a 648
number of strange men. Mr. Mariner found it

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* It is a very common thing among the natives to transfer a present.

648 634 left in the cabin by himself, though watched unknown to him, he did not offer to take, or even touch, a single bead, or any thing else, excepting the captain's hat; but which, not choosing to put on without asking leave, he went on deck on purpose to request Mr. Mariner to obtain permission of the captain for so great a liberty. So different was he from the generality of these islanders, who, stimulated by curiosity, if not by a less honest motive, would not scruple to take a man's hat off his head, unbidden, twirl it about, and be very careless about returning it, if not reminded by the owner.

About the middle of the day Finow went on [431] shore to quiet the people, who were become very clamorous on account of his long stay: but he returned on board soon after, bringing with him a quantity of cooked victuals, ripe bananas, &c. for the crew; and also a present for the captain, consisting of a valuable spear and club, a large bale of *gnatoo*, a large hog, a hundred small yams, and two canoes' load of cocoa-nuts.

So delighted was Finow with every thing he saw on board, so high an opinion had he of the character of the *Papalangis*, and so desirous was he of arriving at those accomplishments which raised them so high above the character of the Tonga people, that he could not help several times expressing his wish to accompany

to their late unsuccessful expedition.)—Hala 628
Api Api had considerable property at the island 422
of Foa, and he sent a message to an old mataboole
residing there, (who had been a faithful servant to his father,) to gather all his moveable property, consisting of some whale's teeth and a considerable quantity of Hamoa mats, and deposit it in a house of his upon the beach, that he might come some time under cover of the night, and secure it.

Some of the Vavaoo warriors proposed a plan, 648
if the captain would lend them the use of the 723
ship, to kill Toobó Tóa and his greatest fighting-men, in revenge for his murder of their lamented chief, the brave Toobó Nuha. The plan was for about two hundred of the choicest Vavaoo warriors to conceal themselves below on board the Favourite, and when she arrived at the Hapai islands, Toobó Tóa and many other considerable chiefs and warriors were to be invited on board, and then the boarding nettings being hauled up that none might escape, at a signal to be given the Vavaoo people were to rush on deck and dispatch them all with their clubs. To this, of course, the captain did not consent.

Finow consigned to Mr. Mariner's care a pre- 628
sent for Mafi Habe, consisting of a bale of fine 431
Vavaoo gnatoo and five or six strings of hand-

628 some beads, and also his *ofa tai-toogoo* ("love
431 "unceasing.") His wife also sent her a present of three valuable Hamoa mats, with her *ofa tai-toogoo.*

The ship now prepared to take her departure
727 from Vavaoo, and Mr. Mariner to take leave of
648 his Vavaoo friends, probably for ever: the king
576 again embraced him in the most affectionate manner, made him repeat his promises to return, if possible, to Tonga, and take him back to England, that he might learn to read books of history, study astronomy, and thus acquire a *papa-*
[634] *langi* mind. As to the government of Vavaoo, he said that might be consigned to the care of his uncle, who would make a good king, for he was a brave man, a wise man, and withal a lover of peace. At this parting, abundance of tears were shed on both sides, Finow returned to his canoe with a heavy heart, and Mr. Mariner felt all the sweet bitterness of parting from much loved friends to visit his native country: he bade a long adieu to the brave and wise Finow Fiji,—to the spirited and heroic Hala Api Api,—natural characters which want of opportunity render scarce, or which are not observable amid the bustle and business of civilized life. The canoe returned to the beach,—the ship got under weigh, and steered her course to the Hapai islands, leaving Vavaoo and all her flourishing plantations lessening in the distance.

Thomas Eversfield and William Brown, (lads of 727
17 years of age), who afterwards returned on
shore, refusing to go away*.

Mr. Mariner was much disappointed on finding 727
that his adopted mother, Mafi Habe, was
gone to a distant island to see some friend; the 628
presents that he brought for her from the king [431]
and queen he left, therefore, with one of her relations, [597]
to be given to her as soon as she returned,
with some presents from himself, to keep
in remembrance of him. He sent on shore, to
the island of Foa, for the old mataboole, the
confident of Hala Api Api, and communicated
to him the message from that chief. He also 727
communicated to Toobo Toa the king's advice 669
to him, viz. never to attempt the invasion of Vavaoo, [628]
but to confine himself to the cultivation
and prosperity of his own islands: to which he
replied, that war was necessary to keep the minds
of his chiefs employed, that they might not meditate
conspiracies; and that he should, therefore,
direct his arms against some of the garrisons
at the island of Tonga. He had the

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* It must be mentioned, that two or three men belonging to the Port au Prince got away about eighteen months before, in a schooner which happened to touch at Vavaoo. Among these was William Towel, who now resides in Cross-street, Westmoreland-place, City-road, and follows the business of a hairdresser. Mr. Mariner was at that period at the Hapai islands, and knew nothing of the schooner's arrival.

lower orders (the tooas), in which case they admonish them, and if they pay no attention, they report them to the older chiefs, and advise that something should be done to remedy such evils. They are very much respected by all classes. 565 [693]
Tooas are the lowest order of all, or the bulk of the people. They are all, by birth, *ky fonnooa*, or peasants; but some of them are employed occasionally in the various occupations of performing the tattow, cooking, club-carving, and shaving, according to their abilities in these respective arts, and meet with encouragement by presents. [463] [431] Those tooas that are evidently related to mooas, and consequently have a chance of becoming mooas, are respected by those who can trace no such relationship. [554]

Professional Class of Society.—We now come to speak of those who draw respect rather than rank according to their usefulness in different arts and manufactures, more or less regarded. 555 461 Some of these, as we have before seen, are matabooles, and rank accordingly; the greater part of them are mooas, and the remainder of course tooas. [565]

Among those that practise the arts there are many that do it because their fathers did the same before them, and consequently have brought them up to it, and these are for the most part such as practise arts that are considered [431]

555 ingenious, and therefore respectable; and hence
461 they have no motive sufficiently strong (unless
[431] it be sometimes laziness) to engage them to
relinquish it, particularly as they obtain presents from their chiefs for their ingenuity. There is no positive law to oblige them to follow the business of their fathers, nor any motive but the honourable estimation in which their arts are held, or their own interest, or the common custom.

555 None of them are matabooles but a few of
461 the canoe builders and the superintendants of
565 funeral rites, perhaps about a fifth or a sixth
396 part of them, and some of these are very ex-
767 pert in cutting ornaments out of whales teeth
for necklaces, or for inlaying clubs, likewise in
[306] making clubs and spears, and other warlike in-
[719] struments, which are not separate professions,
but arts practised by the canoe builders as being expert in the use of the togi or axe; at least there are no *toofoonga fono le* (inlayers of ivory), nor *toofoonga gnahi mea tow* (makers of warlike instruments), but who are also canoe builders. All the *toofoonga fo vaca* (canoe builders), and *toofoonga taboo* (intendants of funeral rites), that are not matabooles are mooas, for no person of so low a rank as a *tooa* can practise such respectable arts.

000 The remaining professions are followed both

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577 726 669 instance alluded to (vol. i. p. 107.) is where Mr. Mariner, with four Indian warriors, was flying from a large party of the enemy, when on a sudden he fell into a deep hole: his fate now seemed certain, the enemy would have gloried in killing him, for they had not forgotten the guns; but his four faithful companions exclaimed, "Let us stop for the Papalangi!" Three defended the ground with their clubs, while one helped him out, and one of the three was killed in that act of defence. These four men might have run off without risking their lives, but they were possessed of better sentiments:—"Let us stop for the Papalangi!"—they did stop, and they saved him.

577 Their high admiration of what is generous and liberal in sentiment and conduct, is very well borne out by many of their most established customs and practices. 577 565 431 The general conduct of chiefs and others towards one another seems to turn upon this principle of liberality. If one chief sees something in the possession of another which he has a strong desire to have, he has only to ask him for it, and in all probability [651] it is readily and liberally given. The very tributes which the chiefs receive from inferiors come as much as possible in the form of presents*.

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* We must not deny but what these presents are frequently occasioned by fear, as may be discovered by several instances mentioned in the first volume; but still they are not de-

Foreigners are exempted from all tributes, ex- 577
cept those that are for the purpose of religious 565
ceremonies, even though they occupy consi- 431
derable plantations at Tonga: they also readily [651]
excuse foreigners for not according with their [609]
customs, or not paying respect to their gods;
because, say they, they have gods of their own,
and are not governed by our divinities. When 577
any one is about to eat, he always shares out 264
what he has to those about him, without any
hesitation, and a contrary conduct would be
considered exceedingly vile and selfish. At [609]
meals strangers or foreigners are always shewn [562]
a preference, and females are helped before
men of the same rank, because they are the
weaker sex and require attention. A number 577
of such instances might be given if necessary,
but these, it is presumed, are sufficient to demonstrate that the people of the Tonga islands
are not only not selfish, but admire liberality,
and are practically liberal.

In such a kind of mind as we have been 771
describing, we may readily suppose that the 888
sentiments of veneration and respect are felt to 565
a considerable degree; and, accordingly, every

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manded; they love to consider them as presents, and this sufficiently demonstrates the universal admiration of the sentiment of liberality. There are no officers appointed to see that the people pay their due quantity.

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[May 18, 1777]

explanation we shall elucidate by notes. The 128
date of the following circumstances is the 18th of May, 1777.

" Next morning early, Feenow and Omai, 175
" who scarcely ever quitted the chief, and now 648
" slept on shore, came on board. The object " of their visit was to require my presence " upon the island. After some time, I accompanied them; and upon landing was conducted to the same place where I had been " seated the day before, and where I saw a " large concourse of people already assembled. " I guessed that something more than ordinary " was in agitation, but could not tell what, nor " could Omai inform me.

" I had not been long seated before near a 175
" hundred of the natives appeared in sight, 648
" and advanced laden with yams, bread-fruit, 491
" plantains, cocoa-nuts, and sugar-canes. They " deposited their burdens in two heaps or piles, " upon our left, being the side they came from. " Soon after arrived a number of others from " the right, bearing the same kind of articles, " which were collected into two piles on that " side. To these were tied two pigs and six " fowls, and to those upon the left six pigs and " two turtles. Earoupa seated himself before [651]
" the several articles upon the left, and another " chief before those upon the right, they being,

[May 18, 1777]

175 " as I judged, the two chiefs who had collected
648 " them by order of Feenow, who seemed to be
[431] " as implicitly obeyed here as he had been at
" Anamooka : and in consequence of his commanding
[651] " superiority over the chiefs of Hapaee,
" had laid this tax upon them for the
" present occasion.

" As soon as this munificent collection of
" provisions was laid down in order, and disposed
" to the best advantage, the bearers of it
" joined the multitude, who formed a large
" circle round the whole. Presently after, a
" number of men entered this circle or area before
" us, armed with clubs made of the green
" branches of the cocoa-nut tree. These paraded
" about for a few minutes and then retired;
" the one half to one side and the other
" half to the other side, seating themselves before
175 " the spectators. Soon after, they successively
648 " entered the lists, and entertained us
541 " with single combats. One champion rising
" up and stepping forward from one side, challenged
" those of the other side, by expressive
" gestures more than by words, to send one of
" their body to oppose him. If the challenge
" was accepted, which was generally the case,
" the two combatants put themselves in proper
" attitudes, and then began the engagement,
" which continued till one or other owned him-

[May 18, 1777]

175 “ spirit, and would certainly have given each
648 “ other a good drubbing, if two old women had
542 “ not interposed to part them *. All these
“ combats were exhibited in the midst of, at
“ least, three thousand people, and were con-
“ ducted with the greatest good humour on all
“ sides; though some of the champions, women
“ as well as men, received blows which doubt-
“ less they must have felt for some time after.

“ As soon as these diversions were ended,
175 “ the chiefs told me that the heaps of provi-
648 “ sions on our right hand were a present to
431 “ Omai, and that those on our left hand, being
“ about two thirds of the whole quantity, were
“ given to me. He added, that I might take
“ them on board whenever it was convenient,
“ but that there would be no occasion to set
“ any of our people as guards over them, as I
“ might be assured that not a single cocoa-nut
“ would be taken away by the natives. So it
“ proved, for I left every thing behind and re-
“ turned to the ship to dinner, carrying the
“ chief with me, and when the provisions were
“ removed on board in the afternoon, not a sin-
“ gle article was missing. There was as much
“ as loaded four boats, and I could not but be
“ struck with the munificence of Feenow, for

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* The women are always soon parted.

[May 18, 1777]

“ this present far exceeded any I had ever 175
“ received from any of the sovereigns of the 648
“ various islands I had visited in the Pacific 431
“ Ocean. I lost no time in convincing my
“ friend that I was not insensible of his liberality;
“ for before he quitted my ship I bestowed
“ upon him such of our commodities as I
“ guessed were most valuable in his estimation.
“ And the return I made was so much to his
“ satisfaction, that as soon as he got on shore
“ he left me still indebted to him, by sending
“ me a fresh present, consisting of two large
“ hogs, a considerable quantity of cloth, and
“ some yams.”

Here follows an *imperfect* account of the 128
dance called *mēē too bu'ggi*, but which we shall now omit, and quote a fuller description of it afterwards. Other circumstances not necessary here to enumerate are also omitted. After describing an exhibition of fire-works, the account goes on thus:

“ Our water and sky rockets, in particular, 175
“ pleased and astonished them beyond all con- 648
“ ception; and the scale was now turned in
“ our favour. This, however, seemed only to [535]
“ furnish them with an additional motive to [545]
“ proceed to fresh exertions of their very singular
“ dexterity, and our fire-works were no
“ sooner ended than a succession of dances

his possessions, and in the most earnest manner 103
entreated him to accept of something. Being 571
thus strongly pressed, the moderate Tootáwi 173
chose a wearing-mat of the kind called *gie fow*[*], [292]
and this was the only article that the eloquence
and kindness of Finow could persuade him to
accept of. The king left him with sentiments
of admiration, and shortly after confirmed the
orders that had been formerly given to prevent
any body molesting him.

Thus lived Tootáwi for some three or four
years afterwards; but one day he was found
lying on the ground, stretched out dead within
his cave.

But to return to our subject; about mid-day 512
it is usual to have another meal, when the [264]
chiefs receive a number of presents, of different [431]
kinds of provisions, from their dependents or [574]
friends, which the matabooles share out. In [521]
the afternoon some again join in conversation, [224]
others go out shooting rats, &c. In the evening
they have dancing and singing, which is 512
often continued till very late at night, on which 535
occasion they burn torches, each being held by [533]
a man, who, after a time, is relieved by another. [372]
These dances are generally kept up for about
four hours after dark. When no dances are 512
513
372
357

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[*] A certain kind of wearing-mat used chiefly in canoes, as it is not liable to be injured by sea-water. See p. 280.

512 proposed, they retire to rest at sun-set, after
513 bathing and oiling themselves, and even on
372 these occasions the houses are lighted up with
357 torches, during two, three, or four hours after
dark: these torches are held by female domes-
tics. It cannot be strictly said that they have
574 any fixed times for meals, though it generally
[264] happens to be in the morning, about noon, and
[431] again in the evening; but it depends greatly
[565] upon how the chiefs are occupied, or what pre-
[562] sents have been made to them: it frequently
[609] occurs that several presents come at the same
time from different quarters; then they have a
feast: but whatever they have, whether much
or little, it is always shared out to all present,
each having a portion according to his rank:
strangers and females generally obtain some-
what more than is due to their rank. Those
who get more than they want never fail to sup-
ply others who have not enough: selfishness is
a very rare quality among them: if a man has
a piece of yam, though it be not enough for a
meal, he will readily give half away to any one
who may want it; and if any body else comes
afterwards in like need, with the greatest good
nature he will give half the remainder; scarcely
saving himself any, though he may be very
hungry.

757 If during the day a chief, mataboole, or
565 mooa, but particularly a chief, finds himself fa-

6: Collocott M-5 (no date) 1928 OU9 Tonga OU9

were only plantain stems, but thought it was a body of warriors, too numerous for them to attack. So the chase was abandoned, and the pursuers returned to Tongatabu. Lepuha and the maiden went on to Vavau. 539

Afterwards the Tui Tonga ordered that Lepuha and the lady be brought from Vavau for the marriage ceremonies to be celebrated. On the day that the presentation of mats was made (*tuku kie*) 99 mats were given to Vaenuku, and 100 to Lepuha. But the Tui Tonga ordered that the best virgin mat (*kie fakataupoou*) be given to Vaenuku, for he had won the maiden's consent, whereas Lepuha had won her by guile.

The details of this story vary; but the motive is always the same. Vaenuku is the successful wooer, but Lepuha defrauds him of his bride by guile, and in the end there is some compensation to the disappointed lover in the distribution of mats. It was customary for virgins to present a mat to the man who won their maiden love, and this special mat is the "virgin mat" given at the end to Vaenuku. The following variant of the story represents him as having established the actual physical claim to it. 431 836

Vaenuku obtained his interview with the maiden, and she accepted him as her lover, and arranged that he should come to her compound by night. So Vaenuku stole into the maiden's house at the appointed time, and lay with her, and then returned to his own island of Eua. On the day fixed for the marriage ceremony the maiden feigned sickness, and the ceremony could not be held. So there was a postponement to another day; but when that day came Vaenuku was still absent, and the lady bade that he be sought, for she had conversed with him;[2] but he was not present at the ceremony. During the delay thus occasioned Lepuha crept by night into the maiden's house, and awaked her, saying that he was Vaenuku. So they fled together by night, and it was not till day dawned that the maiden knew that she had been deceived, and had run away with Lepuha. But by that time they were out at sea, and Tongatabu was out of sight. On that very day Vaenuku came; but when he reached the maiden's home he found that he was too late.

FRAGMENTS OF A POEM OF LEPUHA AND VAENUKU[1]

'Alu foki hano tala ki Vava'u,	Likewise to Vavau went the message,
Fekau mo Ha'ano nau ha'u,	And Haano were ordered to come;
Pea hifo Va'euka 'o fekau	And Vaeuka descended and bade,
"E Va'enuku ha'u ke ke 'alu;	"Come now Vaenuku, do thou go,
Pea ko ho vala koe kie-fau,	Thy dress shall be a fine mat,
Mo si'i papai-mate-ki-tau;	And the girdle *papaimatekitau;*[2]
Ka mou ka fotu pea ke manatu	And when thou appearest remember
'Alu situ'a kea tuku atu	To turn thy back, and allow
Ke kapa e mutu'u mei Valu."	The pigeon from Valu to o'ercome her."
Koe toki me'a ne tamele	'Twas a thing wherein victory was marred,
Koe 'aho enau tuku kie	On the day that the mats were divided
Mate 'a Fetoa, mate Toloke,	Fetoa was vanquished, and Toloke,[3]

POEM OF MUMUI

(Composed by Tuakilaumea)

643 Mumui, the Tui Kanokupolu who died in 1797, sent to Uhila, a man
644 of western Tongatabu, bidding him come to Nukualofa, to weave a mat of
coconut leaf for him. Before he reached the King he met Tuakilaumea,
276 son of Motuapuaka, the well known *matapule* of the Tui Kanokupolu, constructing a reed fence. Tuakilaumea begged of Uhila the piece of kava
[687] he was carrying to Mumui. The King was so incensed at Tuakilaumea's receiving the kava, that he sent men to sack his compound. This punishment was resented by Tuakilaumea, who maintained that, as the King's *matapule,* he had a right to the King's kava. A *matapule* is treated with the deference due to his chief. If the King's *matapule* is present at a kava ceremony when the King is absent the ceremony will be carried out as though the King were present, the *matapule* receiving the King's share.

431 In distribution of food and gifts, the chiefs' names are not called as recipients of portions, but their *matapule* are named. If a chief and his
571 *matapule* are alone and desire to drink kava the chief prepares and serves
565 the kava. A chief would climb a tree to get a coconut for his *matapule.* These, of course, are strictly private concerns, when the chief and *matapule* are alone, and are called *faka-fale-puipui,* within the screened house. The expression is applied to strictly confidential consultations between a chief and his *matapule.*

Tuakilaumea, maintaining that as Mumui's *matapule* he was justified in
644 obtaining the kava from Uhila, voiced his sense of the outrage done him in
276 the following sarcastic poem, which he taught to a company of performers
687 from Faletapu, between Fuaamotu and Nakolo, in eastern Tongatabu. The poem was sung or recited by them before Mulikihaamea, living in eastern
539 Tongatabu, doubtless the chief with whom Vason lived, and who was Tui
[538] Kanokupolu for a few days or weeks in 1799, after the murder of Tukuaho. Mulikihaamea came to Nukualofa and told Mumui about the poem, and the
[643] King then had it performed before himself. Mumui was so delighted with it that he had it repeated four times, and loaded Tuakilaumea with gifts.

If Tuakilaumea were the son of a living Motuapuaka, and had not yet been installed himself as an officiating *matapule,* and was correct in his contention regarding the kava, an interesting light is shed on the blood rights
[643] of *matapule* families. Members of the London Missionary Society who came to Tonga by the *Duff* and met Mumui, represent him as a kindly old gentleman. Whether he was strictly within his right or not, Tuakilaumea was probably presuming on Mumui's good nature.

86. Kai-aji fakatuha umu: Diner-out correspondent with food. 539

A man who keeps his eyes open and regulates his visits to other 574 people's homes to correspond well with the times when a meal is to be got. (Compare No. 187.)

87. Kai halafaki: Eating on the short-cut.

This is not a very satisfactory translation. The word *halafaki* means 539 to go round by some other track and wait on ahead for those who are 264 coming along the ordinary road. As applied to eating the idea is to take food before the regular meal comes on, and thus to get ahead of others, waiting with satisfied hunger for them to catch up.

88. Kai malo ta-foa: Eating kindness that wounds. 539

Indicates a kindness that is spoiled by the way in which it is done, 431 as of one who makes a present of food to another but accompanies his 578 gift with unkind remarks. The recipient may eat the food but he is 576 wounded by what it said to him. So generally of apparent gratification with that which hurts.

89. Kai meakai kovi: Eat bad food. 539

Get into trouble, be in difficulties. 264

183

90. Kai mea vovela: Eat hot stuff, that is, to get into trouble.

91. Kai melie: Sweet food.

Used of that which is specially good, or of persons of unusual excellence. It is used of Goliath in the best translation of the Bible into Tongan (that of the late Dr. J. E. Moulton).

92. Kai umu aipe foi i he ngaue ae malohi: Coward ever eating 539 food through the work of the strong. 264

One of those bitter plaints, common the world over, of one man doing 571 the work and braving the danger whilst another reaps the benefits.

93. Kaikai afua: Eating delicately, with special likes and dis- 539 likes. 264

Especially refers to the desire of a pregnant woman for particular 843 foods, and used proverbially of conduct like that of a pregnant woman, or befitting a pregnant woman.

94. Koe kai ika pe ae jio ki motu: All the fish eating is looking 539 at (or thinking about) an island. 484

If one stays at one of the small out-islands he will probably be well 262 placed to get as much fish as he wants. Should one wish to go away for 152 a holiday on an island, and enjoy the plentifulness of fish, but finds him-

who refuses to work and get that which will meet the legitimate demands 539
of the teeth. 461

101. Teu ke hihi kae ola: About to cut out but gnawing. 539
This refers primarily to the coconut. A nut has been split open in 264
order to cut the flesh out with a knife when someone greedily seizes it 576
and chews the flesh out with his teeth, a thing befitting an animal or bad-mannered man. May be applied to a thing which is about to be carried out in a proper, decent way, but is actually done in an unseemly manner.

PRESENTING, BEGGING, KEEPING FOOD

102. Kai pe lea: Just eating speech. 539
Used of a man for whom there is no portion when the food pre- 264
sented to a chief is divided and distributed, but to whom the chief speaks. 554
The individual thus honored by the chief will feel that he has after all some part in the ceremony although he has not received a present of food.

103. Koe ma ka te mate: Ashamed, but I'll die. 539
Used in the first place of begging food. What is the use of being 431
ashamed to ask for food, seeing that if you do not get it you will die, or 735
be very hungry. (It is very common in Tongan to say that one is *mate*, dead, of hunger, thirst, of desire for some thing, without indicating any extreme stress.) This expression is applied generally to making requests of any kind.

104. Motu ka nae navei: Broken but it was bound. 539
Navei are small cords passed through the top of a basket, especially 415
of food, and fastened round the pole on which it is slung. These cords 482
are not the main lashing, which is a long cord or vine passing several times round the basket and pole. The idea is that although the large lashing has been adjusted yet it is well to avoid risks by adding these auxiliary bindings. The expression has this sense of making assurance doubly sure. Sometimes the phrase is rendered, *Motu ka nae kavei*, which has the same meaning as the above except that the *kavei* is the main lashing. This, which seems to be more familiar to the younger generation of Tongans, may be applied to a mishap which has not been the effect of negligence.
There has been an accident but those whose business it was to look after [829]
the matter in question evidently did their work carefully and thoroughly.

105. Puia a kaiaji: Sending a forager. 539
When one is sent to procure food for a party he will be the first to 156
eat of what he has obtained. So used of one who is the first to reap the 571
advantage of something that he has been sent to do, or to get.

106. Ua ma kae mae ma: Eat *ma* but be careful of *ma*. 539
Ma is the food made from fermented fruit. This expression indi- 262
cates literally one who has a supply of *ma* of his own, but is very sparing 183
571

539 of it, and when he wants to eat, begs food from someone else. Generally
262 of selfish behavior of this sort. (Compare No. 134.)
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571 **107. Tufa kau tufa:** Distribute. I'll distribute.

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431 Primarily refers to one who is not satisfied with the share which falls to him in a distribution of food or goods, but who promises himself to even
571 things up when his turn comes to direct the apportionment of gifts. Go ahead now with your distribution and give me this miserable little portion, but the time will come when I have my turn at dividing and it will be a small gift that you will get then. Thence used generally of tit for tat.

108. Tuku umu fakavajivaji: To leave food in the Vajavaji way.

Vajivaji is the name of a people in Fiji, who when they take a present of food to anyone have the custom of waiting to get a portion for themselves. This has become proverbial in Tonga for giving a thing and then asking for a portion of it.

539 **109. Umu pouli kae ai hoota:** Food in the dark but with a friend
264 there.

572 When food is taken up from the oven in the dark there will be more or less of a scramble in which some are likely to come off badly, but a man who has been so placed that he cannot very well look after himself will yet fare very well if he has a well placed friend who is mindful of his interests. It is applicable to those cases, very numerous in civilized as in more primitive societies, where in the distribution of favors the influential man on the spot remembers his less advantageously situated friend.

539 **110. Uto taunga mo kuma oku ua:** Coconut pith put away to
262 keep and two rats.

The *uto* is the sweet spongy substance inside a coconut which has germinated. It is frequently eaten, as a sweetmeat rather than as a regular food, and was particularly used to pacify children. Should some of this be put away to keep for another occasion and one rat find it out there will probably be something left over for the original owners, but if two or more rats get to work on it the whole will soon be finished. So the expression is used of anything which the owner is reserving for himself, and which other people, not merely a single person whose appetite might be satisfied while there is still something left, but a number, find out and wholly consume.

DOING OF TASKS. CRITICISM

539 **111. Fai faka-muomua-nima:** Do with front of hand.

461 Doing a task half-heartedly, touching it, as it were, only with the tips of the fingers instead of grasping it heartily and sincerely with the whole hand. (Compare No. 416.)

187. Pekepeka jio ohuafi: Swift seeing smoke.
The swift (*Collocallia spodiopyga*) is attracted by the smoke of fires. 539
The expression is used of a person who is constantly making for the fires 825 829
of his neighbors, that is, who prepares very little food for himself but when 571
he notices the culinary smoke ascending from some other home invites 574
himself there for dinner. The Tongan is very open-handed, but this chap 431
rather overdoes the giving of opportunity to other people to prove that it [136]
is more blessed to give than to receive. (Compare No. 86.)

188. Pikipiki aho: Wings folded by day. 539
Night birds sit with wings folded during the day. The expression is 825
used of those who don't do much by day but who prowl about at night, 824
very often getting into mischief.

189. Tee pato: Duck excrement. 539
The missionaries were the first to bring the Muscovy duck to Tonga, 825
and people who were specially anxious to appear well in the eyes of the 797
missionaries would not hesitate to assist them by cleaning up the mess made 554
by the ducks. The expression, therefore, is used of one who does all he 157
can to secure the favor of the missionaries.

190. Vea tee peka: Vea flying-fox dung. 539
A man called Vea lived for a long time with a great chief but at 825
last did something for which he was punished. Spoiling one's prosperity 571
or long service by a fault.

FISH

191. Angaanga mo fai: The name of a shark whose head is like 539
that of the *fai*, sting ray, and whose tail is like that of the shark 825 157
called *anga*.

Applied to those of uncertain character, now one thing and then another.

192. Faka-ikeika-lahi: Like a big fish.
Applied to one of a bold resolute deportment.

193. Fakalelei a tukuku: Peace-making of a *tukuku*. 539
The *tukuku* is a small fish (one of the Glyphidodon). This is used 825
derisively of the little chap trying to make things right between those who 571
are bigger, or socially superior, to himself. [136]

194. Fotu ae ulua ngalo ae tukuku: The *ulua* appears, the *tukuku* 539
is forgotten. 226
The *ulua* and *tukuku* are two fish, the *tukuku* being small and bony, 584
and the *ulua* large and fleshy. If fishermen are catching the *tukuku* and 564

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539 arises between them the blame should fall not on the stationary *kaloua* but
225 on the boat which went to the place where the *kaloua* lives.
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246. Utu tahi moe alaala too: Carrying seawater and rummaging for the *too*, a kind of shell-fish.

Literally this indicates one who has been to the sea to bring water and while there has taken the opportunity to do a little shell fishing. It is applied to one who while ostensibly occupied about some task, or in doing some errand, has taken the opportunity presented by this job of doing some private business. An illustration of it is a person apparently very willing to go on an errand for another, but whose real reason for going is the opportunity that will be given to meet someone whom he is anxious to see.

SHIPS AND SAILING

539 **247. Faka-fotu-la:** Appearing by sail.
501

The appearance of the sail of a boat too far out at sea for her hull to be distinguished is not always a safe guide in estimating the size of the vessel, as little ships sometimes have big sails. This is said to have been notably the case with the old Tongan canoe called the *tongiaki*.

539 **248. Fakahua kae paea pe:** Tacking but just drifting.
502

A sea expression meaning a boat which is beating up against the wind but making little headway, being drifted out of her course by currents
[461] or waves. Applied to a man who is working against obstacles but whose efforts are not meeting with much success.

539 **249. Fakato vaka a Kupolu:**
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We have not been able to get any explanation of this phrase. The meaning given by Baker is, "To give and take again by force." (An English and Tongan and Tongan and English Vocabulary, p. 207.) The literal meaning seems to be, "Handing over a boat of (or by) Kupolu," and probably there is connected with it a story of a boat given to the people of Upolu in Samoa, or given by them to someone else, and then taken back by the original owner.

539 **250. Fakatou katea:** Both *katea*.
501

The *katea* is the larger of the two canoes in the Tongan double boat. If both canoes are large and capacious so that scarcely any distinction can
[513] be made between them they might be described as both *katea*. The expression is applied in various ways, as of a well mated couple, or generally of two things which are both good and useful of their kind.

539 **251. Foa kau tuu:** Smash, I'll stand, that is, stand safely on the shore.
502

Used of a boat in danger near the land the crew of which determine to let her drive on shore regardless of rocks or breakers. The boat will

413. Faala fakatau ki he muiulu: Looking (for lice) at the back 539
of the head. 183
The back of the head is the favorite camping-ground of lice, and 515
though the huntress may pick up a few strays in other localities it is
at the back of the head that she is likely to make her largest bag. So
used of looking for anything where it is most likely to be found.

414. Tata a tua nima: Nearness of back of the hand. 539
The back of the hand is very close to the palm, but when any- 571
thing is grasped it is the palm only that touches it. Used of one who 602
gets nothing when a close relative is distributing favors. In spite of 826
his closeness he touches nothing.

415. Teeki pea toki fakataane: Break wind and then sit properly. 539
The uncouth first word is often exchanged for *angavale*, behave 827
vulgarly. The phrase indicates one who squats down on his heels, 576
or otherwise sits carelessly in company, and whose unguarded behavior 516
is the cause of an embarrassing accident. Afterwards he sits as he
should (*fakataane* is the sitting posture of the men) but then it is too
late to repair the slip. Generally refers to one who after an accident
takes the precautions that he should have taken before. Shutting the
stable door after the horse has got out.

416. Tufotufa ulu-nima: Distributing (with) fingers. 539
Giving away grudgingly; not grasping heartily and offering with 431
good will, but taking hesitatingly and unwillingly presenting something 183
with the ends of the fingers. (Compare No. 111.)

HOME AND COMPOUND

417. Ana jiko-makii: Cave sullied with excrement. 539
Used of a place of human habitation or resort originally small and 356
inconvenient and rendered still more so by the careless filthiness of
those who use it. In connection with this it is asserted that caves [342]
were the earliest dwellings of the people. (See No. 425.)

418. Hifo i toumua: Going down to (one's own) frontage, that 539
is, one leaving his house and going down to the road straight in 351
front of his place. 461
The frontage is in line with his own property, and so the phrase
comes to be used of one putting his hand to a task that is in line
with his powers, undertaking that which he is well able to perform.

419. Hikihiki kaua: Shifting fence or boundary. 539
"Cursed be he that removeth his neighbour's land-mark." Boundaries 423
are tabu and must not be tampered with. For the strong to shift the 571
boundary of the weak would be a mark of tyrannous effrontery. The 829
expression is a reproach to those who change what should be inviolably
fixed.

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539 **448. Nonofo nonofo iloa ae tae oe nonofo:** Living together, living
592 together, the excrement of the living together (or of those liv-
829 ing together) is discovered.

571 Baker renders it: "To live together for a length of time, and then find out the evil of so doing." This seems a very likely meaning, but the expression is also explained as equivalent to the English, "It's an ill bird that fouls its own nest."

539 **449. Tangi ke vikia kae au ae kainga:** Desiring to be praised
622 but the relatives badly off.

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This particularly indicates a chief who makes a liberal distribution of his food and other wealth, but overlooks the claims of his own immediate followers. He may earn the reputation of generosity from numerous people who have benefitted by his ostentatious gifts, but those whom every consideration of justice and gratitude should have recommended to his most kindly treatment are left to suffer want. Also written, *Holi ke vikia.*

539 **450. Hala a jinifu:** Wrong-doing of concubine.

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Wrong-doing, punishment for which involves others besides the actual offender. If one of the wives of a chief proved false to her lord the whole harem shared her guilt and punishment.

451. Ofoofa a kui: Love of grandparent.

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The love of grandparents is very sincere but their anger is to be dreaded, as in their wrath they may strike the offending grandchildren how and where they will. The love of one whose affection is undoubted, but whose position of authority is such that he may punish without let or hindrance.

COURTSHIP AND MARRIAGE

539 **452. A maumau taimi:** Awake, wasting time.

584
[726]
Applied, for instance, to the man who spends his evenings wooing a girl whom he has no chance of winning. Used also in derision by the warriors inside a fortress to the foe whom they see outside watching early and late for an opportunity to force an entrance.

[177]
In its present form with its employment of *taimi,* a corruption of the English time, this phrase is modern, but with the slight change to *A maumaunoa,* waking to no purpose, it may well be ancient.

453. Anefe ha taha a Majilamea: When was there anyone of Majilamea?

A beautiful chiefly girl of Vavau was courted by a chief of Majilamea in Vavau. This gentleman was not a very glib speaker nor apparently was he very lavish with his gifts to the lady. His courting was evidently a rather dull infliction on the damsel. She was wooed and won by another man who was not a chief, but who had the art of pleasing speech and the

539 **501. Hange ha mate mutukia:** Like a cut off death.

Mutukia means trimmed, as for example the edges of the native cloth
761 which are trimmed during manufacture. Thence *mate mutukia* means
287 sudden, unexpected. death. The expression is used of the unexpected occurrence of a painful or disastrous event.

539 **502. Matamatalelei fakafaitoka:** Beautiful like a cemetery.

People may adorn and care for a cemetery but however well it looks
764 it is still not a place that one feels much at home in. So used of that which is beautiful but fails to evoke the feeling of appreciative comfort that makes one desire to linger in its vicinity.

539 **503. Noo ua poaki:** Begging off being strangled.

768 Refers to the strangling of victims on the death of a chief or other circumstances of a like nature where a human victim was called for. This
183 taking of life seemed a quite proper thing and ordinarilly evoked no popular dissent. This expression signifies literally that the individual to whom was assigned the leading part in the tragedy sought to evade his duty by an appeal to the people. So the phrase comes to mean attempting to beg off a duty which should be carried out.

539 **504. Tala fai ki tano:** Speech made to burying-ground.

764 Exhortation, commands, or other expressions directed towards the
521 cemetery where there is none able to take heed and profit by what is said. So of totally unprofitable discourse.

539 **505. To hono aveave:** Plant his *aveave*.

764 A branch of the *aveave* (*Codiaeum variegatum* Pratt), was stuck into
763 the ground in a cemetery to mark the spot where a grave was to be dug. When it was clear that a sick person was about to die a man was told to put in the *aveave*, which he did as a mark to direct those whose business it was to see to the digging of the grave and carrying out of the burial. The *aveave* was left at the grave to grow. The expression, therefore, is equivalent to saying that so-and-so is nearing his end, that it is all up with him.

It is interesting to note that a grave was not left open. The digging of the grave was one of the last pieces of work done in preparation for the interment and never done before the sick person was actually dead, though the *aveave* might be planted while the patient was still alive. In recent years we have seen a coffin made for an old lady, who though frail had vitality sufficient to do a little work even outside the house, and who survived by many months the completion of her coffin, which stood meanwhile on the side verandah of her house. Should an interment be postponed till the day after the grave had been dug, the hole will be filled in and dug out again on the next day. (See No. 498.)

539 **506. Tuui tae fakakava:** Visiting mourners without kava.

765 In visits to the friends and relatives of a person recently deceased it
276 is customary to take gifts to the mourners, particularly to present them with
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kava. A visit without kava would lack the most important article which 539
the comforters should take. This phrase indicates a visit unaccompanied 765
by the "real thing," that which is the real substance of the ceremony. 276
Generally used of that which appears all right but is more or less of a 574
hollow pretence. 431

507. Vai kauaki: Water (for) dying man. 539

Used of that which is given to a dying man to satisfy any longing he 763
may have. If he wants a drink of water give it to him. Literally it refers to giving the dying whatever they may want when it is obvious that nothing can do any good or any harm and that by satisfying any desire
expressed at such a time the last moments may be made happier. We [271]
have also seen the phrase in a context that seemed to imply that the draught of water was life-giving; but probably the idea is that it restored the spirits of the dying man without giving him any real chance of life. Comforting, soothing.

WRONG-DOING; RETRIBUTION

508. E lavea ae taka nofo i he ngaue ae taka tuu: The good will 539
be wounded by the conduct of the bad; wrong-doing which 183
involves the innocent as well as the guilty in punishment.

Taka nofo and *taka tuu*, which mean literally, "he who sits" and "he who stands," perhaps get their meanings of good and bad, as applied to conduct, from the idea of one who sits quietly attending to his own business, and of one who must always be up and gadding round into mischief. Perhaps they refer primarily to the behavior proper to the kava ring where all should sit except when it is necessary to get up to perform some office connected with the ceremony.

509. Faifaimalie a nunua: Retribution coming on slowly.

Although the retribution of evil deeds seems to tarry, yet come it will.

510. Jii pe lele ae kaihaa kae fai: The thief's run is but short, but it is done.

If a thief is discovered he must make a bolt. Even if he is unable to run far and is soon caught he may as well make a dash for it and try to get away. Not a very successful attempt, but still a try.

511. Kaihaa tangi tauloto: A thief who wants to *tauloto*. 539

Tauloto is to carry two burdens or baskets slung on the ends of a 482
stick over the shoulder. If a man desires to steal he will be well advised 685
to limit his depredations to what can easily be comprised in a single bundle and carried without difficulty. If he takes so much that he has to make up two bundles and carry them at the ends of a stick his chances of evading discovery and capture are much lessened. Not only so, but if caught he is much more likely to be forgiven if he is getting off with a swag of moderate size. If you are out for theft there is no sense in over-doing it.

8: Collocott & Havea M, I-5 (no date) 1922
OU9 Tonga OU9

539 **512. Mala fai e tangata:** Curse that man makes.

578 A curse that does not come from the unseen powers but is the fault of man himself.

539 **513. Muimui a nunua:** Retribution following after.

183 This is the pessimistic statement that sorrow is following on the heels of men.

539 **514. Toka moe kafa:** Lying with cord, lying down bound.

681 183 One who is not lying down because he wants to but because he is a bound prisoner and can not do otherwise. It may be translated also, "Existing with cord, existing bound," but the idea is precisely the same of a prisoner in bonds. So generally of a person who must pursue a certain course of action, of things that must of necessity be done.

COMMON PEOPLE

539 **515. Fai faka-fatongia:** Doing compulsory task fashion.

466 461 The *fatongia* was the forced service exacted from the people by the chiefs. This indicates a job that one does not set about whole-heartedly because he wishes to do it: but one which he does unwillingly and only because he must. "Government stroke."

539 **516. Fiemua e tua ki mua:** The commoner trying to outwit (a) chief.

565 829 571 The chiefs were the repositories of wisdom and knowledge: the commoners lacked their intelligence and experience. Consequently for a commoner to attempt to get the better of a chief was a mark of foolish presumption. So used generally of a man trying to outwit one wiser than himself, of an inferior attempting to get the better of his superior.

539 **517. Ha fie matai koia e tangenge:** A would-be craftsman that (that is) large.

554 183 Used in rebuke for forwardness, presumption. The nuance of the Tongan phrase is not greatly different from some such English colloquialism as, "Well, that's a pretty tall order." "You certainly have got some hide."

539 **518. Jii kae ha:** Small but appearing.

565 431 Used of one who wishes to appear to the chiefs or people but has very little that he can take as a present. Notwithstanding the insignificance of his offering he takes and presents it and achieves the prominence that he desires.

539 **519. Kai foto a tua:** Commoner eating sting ray's tail, or as we should say in English, making cannon fodder of himself.

726 565 411 The tail of the sting ray was used to tip the spears, and the sense is that of the commoner braving all the dangers of war, with the further

8: Collocott & Havea M, I-5 (no date) 1922
OU9 Tonga OU9

539 the waist, and with the outside end rather high up on the left side of the
565 front of the body. This whole dress covers the body much further up
554 than does the ordinary *vala* or waist-cloth. It is said that a foreigner
called Fauolo went to live in the island of Haafeva in Haapai and that
291 his daughter bore a son to a chief belonging to the Tui Tonga's family.
A child who is chiefly on one side only is said to be *ila, ila* to, or of, such a chief. Fauolo's grandson gave himself the airs of a great chief, and this phrase is the rebuke administered to him by chiefs whose birth was noble on both sides. The expression may be used generally as a rebuff to those who wish to pass themselves off as something greater than they really are but is especially the taunt of chiefs whose blood is chiefly on both the father's and the mother's side to chiefs whose birth is plebeian on one side.

539 **539. Pule faaoa:** Rule violently seized.
642 Scarcely perhaps to be classed strictly with proverbial expressions.
578 It means authority which has been usurped, or grasped by the strong hand.

539 **540. Talafono a Pakava:** Instructions of Bakava.
622 Bakava was a Fijian chief who used to give instructions to his people
565 that they must not eat the *tava (Pometia pinnata)*, a pleasantly flavored
626 edible fruit, while he held himself exempted from his own "tabu," and
freely plucked and ate the forbidden fruit. This expression is applied to a chief who prohibits to his people a privilege which he himself enjoys.

THE TUI KANOKUPOLU

643 [The Tui Kanokupolu is a great chief of Western Tongatabu into whose
hands regal power was more and more passing with the decline of the
178 Tui Tonga. The birth of several notable warriors and statesmen into this
family and the trend of events after the introduction of Christianity have resulted in placing the present constitutional monarchy of the whole Tongan group in the hands of this house. The title of the King or Queen of Tonga is now Tui Kanokupolu.]

539 **541. Faka-Pangai:** Pangai fashion.
643 Pangai is the name of the residence of the Tui Kanokupolu and
644 there are a number of localities scattered through the group which bear
this name on account of their association with the Tui Kanokupolu. When
431 presenting food to the Tui Kanokupolu the donors would desire to make
103 their gifts seemly and consonant with the dignity of the great chief. Small
gifts, therefore, would be wrapped up in large coverings and placed in capacious baskets. The expression, which is confined to gifts of food, is "applied to small quantities of food put into large baskets." (Baker.)

539 **542. Koe moa kehe oku uua i Pangai:** It's a different cock that is
643 crowing in Pangai.
644 Pangai is the name of the place where the Tui Kanokupolu holds his
103 court and has become the proper name of several localities in the Tongan
183
521

592. Koe fakanavau ke ha? To mark for what? 539

The *navau* is a distinguishing mark fixed to the body of an animal, particularly the mark tied to the leg of the tame decoy pigeon. This is used of marking what is obvious; what is the use of marking what is plain to everyone? It is also used as a very open-hearted and genial response to one who comes to make a request. What are you asking for? Anything that I have and you want, just take and welcome. 223 422 431 571

593. Kuku kaunaka: Grasp handle. 539

A phrase of the pigeon snaring, being an injunction to the men who handled nets to hold the handles firmly lest the birds escape. Like *"Puke-puke a fufula,"* "Seize the big pig," it is an exhortation to devote one's attention and energy to the task in hand. 223 183

594. Mounu vaoa: Decoy pigeon taken to the woods.

Applied to one who has relapsed into bad old habits, like the decoy bird who after all his taming and training has gone wild again.

BOXING, WRESTLING, CUDGEL PLAY

[These sports often formed part of important ceremonies and celebrations.] 526

595. Ta ji ta lahi ta atu pea ke tangi: Little one hits, big one hits, go on hitting, and you will cry. 539 526

The little one can cause very little pain to the big chap by his blows, but the big fellow can make himself felt by the little one. So if it comes to an exchange of blows between the big chap and the little chap it will end in tears for the little one. 571 578 829

This is a word of wisdom, advising the little fellow to be modestly cautious about whom he undertakes to fight.

596. Va feinofi: Striking distance. 539

Primarily a boxing phrase, particularly of the sport called *toutakao* in which a number of combatants participated, men choosing their opponents more or less at random. *Feinofi* means shaping at each other, challenging each other, and *va feinofi* is used of two men who are close enough to each other to spar. Thence simply "close." 526

597. Fetaaki a feiloaki: Cudgel play of men used to each other.

This indicates that each man gives a fine exhibition, as, being accustomed to the other's strokes and style, his own game has the precision that such experience always gives. The point that is emphasized is that both men fight like experts. (See Nos. 468 and 469.)

598. Ojioji palalafa: Coconut-leaf stem finished.

The coconut-leaf stem was used in practising for the club or single-sticks matches *(fetaaki)*. To finish the coconut-leaf stem, or to do one's

221 805 136 331 244 growth when their heads are yellow under the scales. Ashore this is a time of scarcity, whence the proverb, *Ka ai ha ofa tatali ki Uluenga.* If there is any kindness (gift) wait till Uluenga, when presents of food will be most useful. When yams are dug a small piece of the root is sometimes thrown back into the hole. These pieces grow into yams, which though small are deep in the ground on account of the manner of their planting. During the time of scarcity people search for these little yams, and in bending down to throw the soil out of the deep holes they are likely to make themselves yellow-headed.

221 805 244 12. **Tanu-manga:** Throwing soil on branch, fork. November-December. A growing yam is likely to project slightly above the ground, and frequently a small yam grows down from the same stem thus making a branch or fork on the head of the root. In this month if the head of a yam appears forked (*manga*), the gardener banks it over with soil (*tanu*).

With Tanumanga the year normally ends. If, however, observation of the yam and other plants and of fishes at the next new moon fails to discover the appearances proper to the month with which the year begins, Lihamua, another month is intercalated.

221 805 415 13. **Ooa-ki-fangongo:** Using a coconut-shell as basket. *Ooa* is said to be a reduplicated form of *oa*, one sort of basket; *fangongo* is an empty coconut-shell cut open and used as a receptacle for small things. This is a time of scarcity, and the idea is that one needs but a small receptacle in which to place his food.

NIGHTS OF THE MONTH

805 With the Tongans, as with other Polynesians, it is habitual to count by nights rather than by days. Where the English speaker says "five days after" the Tongan says "five nights after." An intelligent Tongan suggests as a reason that his people treat the hours of daylight and of the succeeding darkness as one day and that in reckoning the closing portion of the day is considered.

The division of the month was based on the phases of the moon, and the days or nights were counted within the month, several of the nights having special names. Expressed perhaps in a better way, there were special names for the moon in several of
805 her phases. The fisherman has strong reasons for close observance
226 of the moon, as some days are *aho ika*, fish days, favorable for the catching of certain sorts of fish. These fish days evidently vary with different localities and for different species of fish.

805 821 It is asserted that the appearance of the moon in a looking-

12: Vason M-3 (1797-1801) 1810
OU9 Tonga OU9

from the Marquesas, according to orders given before 175
she left England, we should, through the favour 797
of Heaven, have it in our power to present to the
Captain a bright and cheering prospect of future
usefulness and success. We consecrated our habitation,
as soon as the natives retired, (two excepted,
who stayed with us as our guard,) with hymns and
praises to our God for all his providential mercies,
and our favourable settlement in the Island: and
then imploring his continued blessing and protection,
committed ourselves to rest, much wearied
with the fatigues of the day. A sound and pleasing 175
slumber soon relieved, and refreshed us all: from 797
which we were not roused, till the arrival of numerous 609
visitors, who came to pay us their respects, and 431
indulge their curiosity, awoke us. They all appeared
persons of rank, as none came without considerable
presents of bales of cloth, roasted pigs, bunches of
ripe plantains, or strings of cocoa-nuts. They seemed
to consider it a great honour to be permitted to enter
our habitation; and were anxious to receive any
presents from us.

Placed under the protection of a powerful chief,
no one offered to molest us; but all appeared to vie
in paying us honour and attention. So many presents
were at length made us, of beautiful bales of
cloth and mats, that we had not room to deposit
them all. The cloth was by no means so contemptible 175
as some Europeans may imagine. It was ad- 287

175 suppose, over every one, sends afflictions and maladies
776 if he is angry, and when irreconcileable, occasions
[784 the death of the person. It is to render him propi-
tious that the relations so often wound themselves,
761 and sometimes put some of the sick persons' wives or
782] domestics to death.

By this time, having become very fluent in the
175 language, I extended my acquaintance, and was
797 the companion of the chiefs in most of their expe-
123 ditions and excursions. They much respected me, and esteemed me as a very entertaining companion; as I could now, with a ready familiarity of language, amuse them with tales and descriptions of European customs, inventions, and events; and understand their remarks and tales in answer. I had it now in my power also to entertain large parties in return, and had learned to join in their amusements with too great facility and pleasure.

I took pains also to endear myself to the chiefs by timeing my presents, and presenting them in the most approved and acceptable manner. My abbee being in a high state of cultivation, in the scarcest seasons abounded with fruits, and probably it would have been a chief source of supply to Mulkaamair.
175 When scarcity desolated the country around, ripe
797 plantains bended the branches of my trees, of which
129 I would cut twenty branches and send them as a
431 present to Mulkaamair, borne on the shoulders of
482 forty men. This was the etiquette of Tonga: the

175 manner of doing it rendered the present doubly
797 valuable, and no present could be more acceptable
123
431 and handsome than this, as Mulkaamair liked plan-
482 tains more than all other fruits.

Though he was pleased with the presents sent
175
634 him, yet he had a dignity of spirit, that prevented
431 him, in the scarce seasons, from calling on me, even
[731] though he was in the neighbourhood, and but badly
[829] supplied with provisions. Had I been a native chief, he would have called without ceremony; but he was above seeking assistance from moolee, or the stranger. He was a man of such boundless generosity, that if I even went to him and asked him to let me have a field of his to cultivate, he would laugh, and say, "go and take it." Hence, whenever I understood he was in the neighbourhood, I always took care to dress a pig, and sent it him; and he never omitted to return me equal kindness. This[1] manner of bestowing, was surprisingly refined. If he sent me a pig, those who brought it, would say, "they had brought a pig, but it was very small, and intended for the servants, if I would permit them, for Mulkaamair's sake, to accept it.*" The servants then rose, and thanked the bear-

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* The respectful and refined manner, in which Abigail presented to David, two hundred loaves, two bottles of wine, five sheep ready dressed, five measures of parched corn, and an hundred clusters of raisins, and two hundred cakes of figs, when he was marching at the head of four hundred

[1] [Erratum: this should read His. Cf. errata sheet, Category 116, p. 235---Analyst.]

[This page retyped by HRAF.]

175 er, whilst I had only to beckon assent, without any
634 expression of obligation or thanks. When they had
431 departed, the servants would set it before me, and I ordered it to be dressed for the household. When it was ready, perhaps several persons in the neighbourhood would come in to partake of it, as was generally the custom at Tonga.

175 But amid all these interchanges of ease and indul-
797 gence, employment, and amusement, I could not prevent the intrusion of uneasy reflections. I enjoyed no true peace and happiness, my dereliction of all religion often so pained my conscience as to render me a burden to myself. So true is the declaration of the inspired oracles, "There is no peace to the wicked.[*]"

Whilst proceeding in this career, however, I daily advanced in wealth and dignity. Ere long I purchased more land contiguous to Omotaanee, till my little abbee became a considerable estate. I engaged more labourers to cultivate my fields, and

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men, to revenge the churlishness and insults of her husband Nabal, shows that the manners of the South-Sea Islanders are very similar to those of the ancients. Falling at his feet, she said,—" And now this blessing which thine handmaid hath brought my lord, let it even *be given unto the young men that follow my Lord.* 1 Sam. 25. xxvii.

[*] Even an heathen could say, " Nec secura quies, sontes, similisque sopori Detinet innocui estote, numen adest."[1]
Ovid.

[1] [Errata: these lines ought to be in poetic form. Cf. errata sheet, cat. 116, p. 235--Analyst]

and 2 in Tongatapu. Those in Tongatapu do not cultivate 423
their plantations but retain control of them as long as rent [427)
is paid. They presumably continue to pay rent because
they at some time hope to return to Pangai to live. The 26
other non-Pangai residents were either at one time resident
in the village or have inherited plantations from relatives.
They are generally cultivating their plantations or else are [241)
using them for the production of copra.

The grouping of the numbers in Figure 1[A] generally 423
follows the topography of the island. Where the numbers 133
are close together, the land is flat, fertile and easily cultivated.
Where the numbers are widely separated as at the left of the
map, the land is rocky or broken or infertile. To the right
of the map where there are no numbers on the island, the
land is controlled by the village of Utulei.

Although Pangaimotu is Royal estate no tribute is now 423
paid by the villagers to the Queen in the way of a first-fruits 643
offering. When the Queen comes to Neiafu on a visit, or 651
should she at any time pay a visit to the village, special 431
gifts of fine mats, bark cloth, pigs and food, are made to her
by the people of Pangai. On a visit to Vava'u the people
would honour the Queen in this fashion. The people occupying
the lands of a Royal estate, however, would expect to
make gifts greater in quantity and value than the general
populace.

The modern pattern of the villager's control over a 423
small acreage of land through annual payment of land tax 651
may superficially appear to represent a great change in 427
aboriginal patterns of land ownership. Closer study, however, 178
suggests that changes have not been great. The
aboriginal commoner was a tenant farmer, working land
granted to him by a feudal chief, paying to this chief a
" rent " in produce, liable in theory to be dispossessed of his
" rented " land at the will of his chief. Today, the ultimate
owner of all land in the Kingdom is the Tongan government
which has made land grants to Royalty and nobles. Land
taxes are paid to the government representative. The Crown
passes on these rents to the noble concerned if they come
from his estate and keeps them for government use if the
land is Crown property. The villager therefore no more
owns his land today than he did in aboriginal times. A

[A] [See category 116, p. 6--Analyst]

spending the day plaiting mats. They will sit down to their 512
main meal of the day some time during the evening when 461
Hausia returns from the bush carefully carrying the women's 592
portion of the food baked during the day and set aside (264)
before the men began to eat their bush feast.

Avai's household has not been working in the bush. 512
The men are busy roasting a large pig which will occupy 461
the position of honour in a gift they are preparing to carry 592
to the village of Makave, some three hours distant. Avai's 431
mother's brother's wife died in Makave last November 765
(three months ago). It is now time for Avai's mother to 484
remember this event by the gift to the deceased's family of a large pig, an equally large root of green *kava* and a quantity of bark cloth. The party set off for Makave about noon; Avai with the *kava*-root and his sister on one horse, a friend Tevita with the roast pig on a second, and Sesoni (cross-cousin to Avai's mother) with the bark cloth on the third horse. The walking party was made up of Avai's mother, her husband and her daughter, the local pastor of the Church of Tonga (the family church) and the pastor's son. When the party arrives on the outskirts of Makave, the pig will be slung on a stout pole and carried thus on the shoulders of two of the men to the honoured house. The party is all dressed in best Sunday clothes. The pig is large and juicily fat. It will make a brave show as the men stagger with it through the village, going the longest and most roundabout way until the procession comes at last to rest before the bereaved household. This is as it should be. For why, says the villager, trouble to implement social and economic obligations if all do not know, talk about, and appreciate your generosity?

Biukala and Beni Kautai and their two households, about 512
twenty men, women and children, have had a holiday today. 592
They went for a " picnic " to a distant beach, a feast really, 527
to honour relatives visiting from a distant village. They 461
went with the early morning tide in a borrowed, flat-bottomed copra-boat, and returned late this evening when the tide was high again. We hear the laughing, shouting party as it returns across the lagoon and then as it straggles in a long line up the hill from the beach, children and adults excitedly talking among themselves. A little while later when we walk past Biukala's house all is silent. Young and

461 the round of gardens until all the immediate work is finished.
464 Food for the day is provided by the partner on whose land
the work is being carried out. He generally prepares an oven
476 to feed his companions.

571 This method of working is common village practice. In
461 discussing it an informant threw certain human sidelights on
work-habits which show how this type of partnership may
464 sometimes function. This informant said he never worked
476 in partnership with anyone. He believes he gets more done
571 by himself—it is obvious that he is not a true Tongan in this
124 respect. The working partnership, he thinks, is merely a
[183] temptation to talk, rest, eat, and sleep rather than work.
Some men are cunning in this respect. When the partners are working on A's field, A scorns all talk and insists on hard work for all three men. When in B's garden however, A thinks of the most wonderfully amusing stories to tell his companions and so little work is done by the end of the day. Informant mentioned the names of three men whom we had already observed to be a working partnership. Of the three,
[157] only C was a hard worker. The other two were sophisticated
and cunning with the result that hard-working C was doing in reality all the work for all three men. C apparently did not realize the situation. The three men were the best of friends and for many days on end were to be observed going to their plantations in the morning, returning together in the evening laughing and joking. It is obvious therefore that as long as the utmost amount of work is not the end of activity, the working-partnership can function to the satisfaction of its members and get enough work done to make such organization worth while.

461 The other type of men's working-party, the *tou tu'u*,
functions when it is a matter of breaking-in virgin bush-
476 land. The owner of the land gets together a group of from
464 ten to twenty men. He assigns to each man a small section
241 of the bush-land. Each man clears his own section and
571 generally plants it with yams. From the first harvest each
[431] man gives the owner of the land a present of from two to
five yams and keeps the remainder for himself. Taro, *kape*, or sweet potato, may be planted instead of yams. After this
[425] first year of cultivation the owner resumes full control of his
cleared land and plants it exclusively for himself. Through

the four records were used in the form of coconut-cream 262
in which the staples were boiled. No informant bothered to 592
list the number of drinking nuts used because, for him, the nuts were equivalent to water in the diet. The meat eaten was canned. The fish eaten was mostly fresh, helped out by canned salmon and herring. The reef-food eaten as a relish by two of the families included shell-fish, jelly-fish, octopus, seaweed and other edible reef-material.

In addition to this food actually consumed by members 262
of the household, further food was on some days collected 592
from the gardens and distributed in the gift-exchange. Thus 574
family B was visited for two days by the sister of the 431
household head, her husband and two children. When these visitors left, the household head presented them with a gift of about fifteen pounds of *taro* and one large pig. Food to [231]
feed the pigs would also have to be collected: about fifty mature coconuts for each pig would be the amount used in this connection.

The specific amounts of food harvested and used by one 252
of these families (household D) is given in the next table. 262
592
264

TABLE 7.—HOUSEHOLD FOOD

Date	Time	Way Prepared	*Taro*	Plantain	Food—Number of Tubers Green Bananas	*Kape*	*Manioke*	*Papaia*	Reef Foods Baskets
Jan. 23	Morning	Boiled	30	13	30	—	—	—	1
	Evening	Boiled	20	10	25	—	—	—	—
Jan. 24	Morning	Boiled	40	15	45	—	—	—	1
	Evening	Boiled	20	—	40	—	—	—	1
Jan. 25	Morning	Boiled	45	—	50	—	—	—	1
	Evening	Boiled	30	—	40	—	—	—	1
Jan. 26	Morning	Oven	50	—	—	2	—	15	2
	Evening	Boiled	—	50	17	—	—	—	—
Jan. 27	Morning	Boiled	37	—	40	—	—	—	—
	Evening	Boiled	29	—	20	—	—	—	—
Jan. 28	Morning	Boiled	50	22	19	—	—	—	—
	Evening	Boiled	25	17	—	—	—	—	—
Jan. 29	Morning	Oven	—	—	—	7	30	10	1
	Evening	Boiled	—	—	—	3	—	—	—

This table suggests very vividly the dietary of the 262
Pangai people. For five days there is a steady diet of *taro*, plantain, and green bananas with additional shell-fish relish. For each meal of these five days the staples were prepared [252]
by boiling in a kerosene tin with coconut-cream (64 mature

527
cooked at the picnic place, and large quantities of other food 262
will be eaten.

The *kai tunu* corresponds to the basket of food that 524
figures so prominently in the church-suppers and socials of 262
the white man. In Pangai it is contributed by arrangement 794
for such occasions as an evening devoted to singing sacred [431]
songs; for an occasional gift to the pastor of the church, for a carpenter called in to repair the church structure; for the singing and dancing-parties which meet to practise many nights in succession before some large church conference or before the visit of a member of the royal family to Vava'u. If for a group, the food is laid out and eaten after the more serious business of the evening is finished; if for an individual, the food is taken to the household and there eaten in company with household members. It is unlikely that there would be any pork in any of these food-contributions. Possibly a bit of fish or chicken would be included, but mostly the food would be prepared from the regular vegetable staples.

On almost all occasions when the villager joins with 527
his fellows for work or play food is served and eaten together. 524
It symbolizes good fellowship (as when a large group is 262
invited to a birthday-feast), token-payment for services 182
rendered (as with a working-party), validation of a socially important contract (as in a marriage-feast), or it serves as a method of marking the arrival or departure of individuals who make up the social group (birth- and death-feasts). On all of these and on other occasions still, when food is served to the group, the satisfaction of hunger is of course important. None who have watched the villager eat at one of these feasts can doubt either his hunger or his capacity for consuming the largest amounts of food. Beyond this, however, the symbolic significance of the feast is not to be overlooked. The villager is certainly well aware that the feast transforms mere eating into an expression of the social values of the group.

One further type of food-distribution may be mentioned 524
in this context; that is, a combination of a feast and food- 437
distribution for a specific money-raising purpose. This is 432
the feast termed *aho no*—"borrowing day" (?). It is held 262
on any occasion when the householder wishes to raise a

574 comparatively large sum of money for the purchase of a new
437 boat, a cart, or a house. Thus, Hausia wished to buy a large
432 Tongan-style house with an iron roof from its Pangai-born
262 owner who had left the village to live at Tongatapu. Hausia
proposed to remove this house from its present site and
[435] erect it on his own house lot. The price of the house was
fifteen pounds. Hausia had saved up five pounds. He wished
to raise the rest of the purchase-price as soon as possible.
He announced to the village that he would hold a food-distribution on a certain day. For this distribution he
slaughtered all his pigs and one cow. He also prepared large
quantities of food. On the day of the distribution, members
of each Pangai household and visitors from all the nearby
villages visited Hausia. They were given food to eat and a
section of pork or beef to take home. In return each visitor
574 left with Hausia from two to four shillings as a gift towards
437 the price of the new house. At the end of the day, all Hausia's
432 food had been eaten all his meat given away, but he had
431 acquired about twelve pounds in money. It may be noted
that the villagers do not think of this transaction as a sale.
They make a gift of money because money is needed. Hausia
makes a return-gift of meat because it is a desirable food.
By this gift-exchange, Hausia raises a substantial sum of
money while villagers and visitors get plenty of food to eat
and meat to take home.

INCOME AND EXPENDITURE

434 As will be evident from the following discussion, Pangai
511 operates today partly on a self-subsistence economy and
partly on a money-economy. Food for the everyday diet is
largely raised through gardening and does not involve the
expenditure of money. Additional delicacies for a feast,
however, generally necessitate recourse to the store. Money-economy is more importantly involved in the purchase of
[432] clothing, soap, kerosene, matches, and the like.

434 Perhaps the best way to show the manner in which this
money-economy is geared to the everyday life of the villager
511 is to present in some detail the income- and expenditure-
592 accounts of two Pangai households.

Sesoni and his household (2 adults and 5 children) can very well be taken as representative of the average village

434 Some further notes may be added concerning Biukala's
511 expenditure. His poll-tax payments include his own as well
592 as those of a man from the island of Uvea who has taken up
residence in his household and who assists in turn with
[651] gardening and copra making. The rents are for three *api*
[427] in Pangai and a fourth in Tongatapu. Church gifts include
[794] the quarterly offering of 6/-, together with a special
missionary offering of £2 0s 0d and the gift to the church of
a can of kerosene. Biukala, obviously, is a very strong
functioning member of the church. For the first birthday
[527] of his only son to whom Biukala is greatly attached, the
father made a large feast. Besides large quantities of
Tongan food (including an additional pig which had to be
purchased), Biukala bought from the store such foods as
flour, sugar, fish, spices (his wife has learned to bake cakes),
melons, canned milk. He also bought as a birthday-gift for
his son a fathom of piece goods to make a *vala* for the
infant. This birthday-feast in consequence, is remembered
as one of the really big village functions of the year. The
[432] other store expenditures of these months include the usual
soap, kerosene, flour, sugar, canned meat, canned fish, and
piece-goods for *vala* as well as seeds for his garden.
[431] Biukala's mother lives on a town-lot in Nukualofa. Here
money economy is much more important than in Pangai, and
his substantial gift was doubtless of great value to the
mother.

434 It is not possible to estimate with any accuracy the total
income of Pangai village as a whole. Money is obtained
439 principally from the sale of copra, bananas, and pineapples,
and from services. Of these sources, copra sales are highest
on the list, sale of bananas second, the sale of pineapples and
services (stevedoring for one or two men, occasional work
in a store), far below the others. Some few men in the
village make a point of being vitally interested in banana
exportation. Each of these men tries to prepare from eight
to ten cases of bananas for export about five or six times each
year. He receives from three to five shillings per case,
depending on market price. About five other men in the
village occasionally export one case of bananas each. Thus,
under the most favourable conditions, each man in the first
group may add perhaps £10 to his yearly income and each

The village overseer, the
434 school-teacher, the pastor, and a man like Biukala who
556 controls three *api*, all find that they are respected for the fact
that their additional wealth makes it possible for them to
574 expend more in the giving of feasts. Power, that is, that
comes from relatively great wealth is used mainly to increase
the size and frequency of one's feasts. To these feasts most
574 of the household heads of the village are invited. Or if
621 they are not invited, then part of the food on display trickles
592 back to their household through gifts to close relatives.
Thus, many in the village share in a large feast even though
571 a relatively few only may actually be present at the eating
431 of the food displayed. There are always obligations to be
paid off to this household or that. Food given as a gift from
one feast may actually change hands several times before it
is all finally consumed: each household having a part in this
chain of exchange will take part of the food-gift and then
pass the rest on to another household to whom it has an
outstanding obligation. Probably no single factor will
434 produce greater changes in village life than the accumulation
556 of money for power, rather, than as at present, the use
178 of money to gain prestige through feasts. But this change
is not yet significant in village life.

CHANGES IN CRAFT-ACTIVITIES

178 In considering the various aspects of craft-activities
and the place they occupy today in village economic life, one
sees evident signs of change which suggest something of a
decay in craft-techniques. In fishing-activities for instance,
178 few men bother with net- or line-fishing. Fish of any sort
226 are fairly rare in the daily diet. Not that the villagers have
262 lost a taste for fish. Whenever an occasional successful
fisherman blew a whistle in the village to announce that he
[202] had fish to sell, those who had money to spare would rush to
buy. On these occasions we could give no more acceptable
[431] gift to neighbouring friendly families than a block of fresh
fish. The fact that fish is a delicacy today goes along with
this lack of interest in fishing. This indifference to the sea,
181 noticeably strange in the descendants of a great sea-going
823 people such as the Tongans formerly were, comes out also
868 in other ways. Thus, Pangai is situated on a rise within
[361] one hundred yards or so of a beach. Two or three other

feast for the mother's relatives. Inside the house in the 846
public section and separated from the mother by the bark 574
cloth partition, the mother's relatives congregate: three or (602)
four men and perhaps ten or twelve women. A girl makes 846
kava while the group sits talking. A man comes into the 574
house, throws a gift of *kava* onto the floor in the centre of 276
the room and says: "*Malo ae faele*"—"Thank you for the [431]
child's birth." All drink *kava*. *Kava* drinking and talking
continue for the rest of the day. For the second day, visitors
continue to come to the house, but they are fewer and there
is no *kava*-drinking. Male relatives of the mother bring 846
gifts of *kava*, female relatives bring gifts of baby-clothing. 574
After the third day, visitors stop calling at the house. 431
Relatives of the father do not visit during these early days. 602
Toward the end of the ten-day period, they are formally
invited by the father to visit the baby and mother. Food
and *kava* are prepared for their visit.

It is to be noted that the mother's relatives receive first 846
attention and are the only visitors allowed the mother during 574
the early days of the confinement. Only later are the father's 602
relatives present, and then only by invitation. According to 829
village theory, the mother is presenting her husband's household with an item of great value. It is right, therefore, that she and her family should be honoured above all others. For the moment, the mother's family is active. The father's group is merely the passive recipient of the gift of new life. It is right, therefore, that this group should occupy a background position in the birth celebrations.

NAMING

The infant is named within a few hours after birth. 553
The name is given by the father's sister *(mehekitanga)*, by 604
her son or daughter, or by some other close relative of the
father's sister. This person formally asks the privilege of
giving the name or, rather, of naming the name by which
the child shall be known. At the same time she gives the [431]
child a present of clothing or a small baby-mat. Three days [574]
later, the father makes a feast for the name-giver and she [431]
receives gifts of mats and bark cloth which have been
collected together by the father's mother and the mother's
mother.

553 604 574 431 [844] [562] mother. The exchange of presents is greatest for a first-born son, greater for a first-born girl than for subsequent girls, greater for a first boy than for subsequent boys or girls.

GROWING UP

121 No systematic study was made of the life of children. The following note on one aspect only of this life is to be understood as only a statement of what appears to the observer of village life as obvious and frequent.

857 [561] Children play frequently in groups which number up to ten or more members. There is little age stratification because most older children, older girls particularly, have the responsibility of being nursemaids for younger children and infants. Thus it is natural that the younger children should be members of a gang-group that is led by older children. The typical group, therefore, includes children between the ages of sixteen months and seven years. These gangs spend much of their time exploring and playing in the bush or on the beach. [865] A good deal of aggressive behaviour is displayed within the group. Shouts and laughter of one moment give place to tears in the next as an older child picks up a coconut-switch and unmercifully beats one of the younger children for some disobedience.

854 855 As long as the infants are babes in arms they are petted, pampered, and played with. From the age of eighteen months or so onwards, the children are thrown on their own resources. This means that they are free to go where they will or where they can. The mothers expect assistance and obedience if the children are playing round the house when some simple task comes to hand. 855 861 The child who disobeys or who is thought lazy in carrying out a command is generally severely beaten by the mother. The beatings, which appear to be village-practice in enforcing discipline, are almost all carried out by adult women or by older children. The men of the household are generally away from the village all day, working in their gardens. We never saw a man direct more than the mildest of verbal reproofs toward his child. The whippings and beatings are women's work. In one instance only did we hear of a man beating a youngster. This was the case of Bovai who became enraged over the alleged laziness of his adopted son, aged fifteen years. The

881 that it is *tapu* to work, to cook, or to wash clothes during
the menstrual period. The mother also explains that the girl
[867] must from now onward observe all the *tapu* associated with
[593] the attitudes of respect *(fakaapaapa)* which the girl henceforward
[602] observes in regard to her brothers.[21]

Between the ages of ten and twelve the boy is super-
881 cised. If the operator should be a native medicine man the
304 occasion is marked with a small feast and a gift to the expert.
178 Today, however, it is general custom in the village to send the
743 boy to the hospital in Neiafu where a free operation is per-
759 formed by the Tongan native practitioner. There is little
feasting or gift-giving. It is still very necessary for a boy to
be operated upon if he is not to suffer shame for the rest of
his life as one abnormal and despised. But with the ease and
simplicity of the hospital operation, there has been a sort of
178 shifting of responsibility for the whole matter onto the shoul-
881 ders of the white doctor. The operation has, therefore, be-
304 come a routine affair with no connected overtones of emotion
152
574 or anxiety on the part of the parents of the boy. With the
431 passing of anxiety there has also passed any felt necessity

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881 [21] There is great change here as compared with ancient practice.
178 Gifford (*Tongan Society*, p. 186) notes that chiefly families still observe
304 old-time ceremonial connected with a girl's first menstruation. He
adds: "These observances were formerly general." The note in the
text concerning male supercision should also be compared with Gifford's
account (*Tongan Society*, pp. 187-189) of boys' puberty-observances.
Formerly the operation was technically a matter of supercision; today
this is still the common practice. After this paper was completed Dr.
Lopdell sent us the following note which amplifies the material given
in the text. Dr. Lopdell writes: Vava'u practice is pretty general
throughout Tonga. Child, or rather infant, superincision is practically
unknown. Boys come to the hospital in Neiafu when between the ages
of nine and twelve years; ten years is an average age. There are a few
native medicine men who operate in the villages but I think that it is
safe to say that the medical department does about ninety per cent. of
the operations. Often a gang of boys, say ten to twenty boys of about
the same age and from the same village, come to the hospital on the
same day. The boys make a colourful cutter load of human freight if
they come, dressed in their best clothes, from one of the distant villages
far down Vava'u harbour. The operation is usually performed by one
of the hospital boys. It consists of a simple scissors cut along the dorsal
line of the prepuce. A local anaesthetic is given. On returning to the
[574] village a small feast may be held but there is no fuss or bother made
about the operation.

to mark what is now a non-critical period by feasting and gift-giving. Presumably the boy may still suffer from anxiety over the operation, but he is after all, only a boy. Neither parents nor village see any necessity to concern themselves greatly with the emotions of a mere boy when they are experienced out of sight and out of sound in a distant hospital. The situation has obviously changed greatly from the time when surgery was carried out in the village without the aid of anaesthetics, sterile instruments and specific operator's skill. 881 304 178 152 574 431

COURTSHIP

832

The average village man's idea of a woman who is beautiful emphasises first of all the fact that she should be fat in every part of her body. Her eyes should be far apart. There should be a slight prognathism and everted lips. Skin should be a medium brown, not too fair and not too dark. The feet should be large and well formed. Conversely, a woman whose skin is very dark or one whose bust is large but whose buttocks and feet are small, is looked upon with small favour by the idealists. Naturally, few women in Pangai measure up to the ideal. One who chooses a mate or begins a courtship must overlook much and weigh the preferential value of skin colour against size of buttocks or feet. [584]

The mother exercises considerable supervision over her nubile daughter. An industrious girl, well chaperoned, is likely to make a good marriage. An unchaperoned girl who shows signs of laziness, who is on a familiar joking-relationship with many men, or who visits much about the village instead of staying home quietly working, may be attractive to some young men, but the elders see to it that no easy marriage will be arranged. The model mother will not allow her daughter to walk unescorted at night. Our housegirl's home was barely 200 feet from our house, but the girl's mother would always send a younger sister or brother to escort the girl home after dark from one house to the other. 593 882 584 156

It is difficult to judge whether pre-marital sex-relations are common among the young people of the village. All informants were positive that with the exception of two doubtful cases, all the young unmarried girls in the village 836

585 This may be best emphasized by outlining the formal
[128] marriage ceremony and then giving a short case-study to
show the limit of variations on the pattern.

In any formal marriage, much preparation is concerned
585 with the collection of the necessary gifts, transfer of which
583 in the old days constituted the validation of the marriage
431 relationship and which today are still necessary if the
marriage is performed according to rule. These gifts are collected together by the father of the groom. They consist of a ceremonial skirt *(vala to'onga)*, six or more specially-made sleeping mats, quantities of bark cloth and clothing. The mats have taken years to make. They have been specially made for some future marriage and have been carefully stored away until needed. Relatives may be asked to contribute further fine mats, in which case they are later repaid with return-gifts of mats. The gifts are all brought together in the house of the groom's father and the bride and her relatives are invited to inspect the display. The groom's father must also bring together great quantities of food, pigs, and *kava*. This preliminary collection may well take a week or more to complete.

585 When all is ready, the groom's sisters escort the bride
to the groom's father's house. There the groom's mother
[292] dresses the bride in a *vala* which consists of a four-fathom
length of bark cloth. The bride returns to her own house, bathes and dries her body with the bark cloth *vala*. She again returns to the groom's father's house where the father has prepared a small feast. She is accompanied this time by her mother and her mother's sisters. All eat. Then the bride and groom together with a party of relatives go to Neiafu to secure the civil marriage-license. They return to
[793] Pangai, eat more food, and proceed to the church where
the religious ceremony is performed by the pastor. The
[435] marriage license costs eight shillings, the marriage ceremony
whatever the groom can afford to give the pastor—ten shillings would be a more than adequate gift from the ordinary family. After this the groom goes to his father's
[292] house, the bride to her father's house where she dresses in
the ceremonial *vala* provided by the groom's father.

All meet again at the groom's father's house where the gifts of mats and bark cloth have been piled high outside

585 833 first intercourse; the longer the period of waiting, the greater the affection.

585 574 585 431 602 574 On Friday, Tui made a small feast for his family. On Sunday he again made another feast, larger this time. It consisted of ten giant *taro*, four large yams and two large pigs (of the third size, *ha'amo*). Many of the bride's family came to Pangai from Toula bringing with them gifts of mats: Vikai, a distant relative of the bride, brought five *kie*-mats for the groom's ceremonial skirt; the bride's mother brought four *kie*-mats for the bride. These mats were put on and the whole group went to the church service. After the service, another relative of the bride presented her with one length of bark cloth and one *kie*-skirt, other relatives doing likewise later in the day. All these mats and bark cloth presented to the couple by both bride and groom's relatives became part of the "trousseau" outfit of the married couple. They will be stored up, used as required, and then passed on as gifts to other relatives when they in turn get married. The bark cloth may in time wear out, but it is replaced by the bark cloth that the bride will herself make. The mats will last for many years and thus play their part in the endless chain of reciprocal gift-giving whereby the kinship bonds are strengthened and validated by consensually-accepted symbols.

585 574 Following upon this presentation, which always consists of the giver's taking off the garment the recipient is wearing and substituting for it the garment which is presented, the oven was opened. All the food was presented to the bride's family who immediately wrapped the food up in coconut-containers and set off for their home village carrying the food with them.

585 [574] On the following Tuesday night the marriage was finally consummated. The bride was too exhausted to rise the next morning, but Tui's wife noticed that there was blood on her dress. Tui immediately set to work to make a further oven consisting of three yams, eight giant *taro*, and one pig. Word was sent to the bride's mother who came hurrying over from Toula accompanied by her sisters. The oven was opened, food eaten, and remains packed up by the mother when she returned to Toula. For the following seven nights

when they are sure that high feeling has died down. The 583
groom's father will often give a small feast when the run- 593
away couple returns to Pangai. The bride's parents are [574]
generally much more angry, probably because they always
feel that a better marriage could have been possible for their 583
daughter. It is not uncommon for the bride's parents to 593
refuse to see either their daughter or her husband for two 606
or more years—and then to relent only when their desire to
see their new grandchild becomes overwhelming. Even then,
the first overtures to peace always come from the groom.
It is hinted to him that the anger of his parents-in-law has
abated somewhat. He secures the largest possible pig.
Accompanied by his wife, his child and his pig, he comes [431]
to Pangai and lays the pig down in front of his parents'-in-
law house. If the pig is accepted, and it generally is, then
reconciliation occurs and the young couple no longer find it
inconvenient or uncomfortable to live away from their home
village. Sometimes the parents of both bride and groom
agree to celebrate the Tongan side of the marriage forthwith.
At other times, they all agree to forget the past, thankful
enough that at least the young people are married according
to church-ritual.

It is hard to judge the attitude of the villagers to these 583
runaway marriages, or elopements, as compared with their 178
attitude to the more formal marriages. Some young people 829
are inclined to shrug their shoulders and say that the Tongan
marriage causes fuss and trouble without adding anything
to the validity of the marriage-contract. Older people however, and perhaps the more unthinking young still feel that there is an essential rightness about the Tongan customs and that it is not good to break with them even though one can be legally married without observing them. And certainly, if one's family claims any particular status in the village or enjoys some measure of respect, it would be unthinkable on the part of the elders that the younger members of the family should be married without feasting and gift-giving. One would expect considerable change in the future: generally a tendency for the young to take matters into their own hands, knowing that they need have no shame provided their marriage is church blessed; knowing also that in this way they save their families the expense and trouble of feast-preparation and gift-giving.

TABLE 13.—FREQUENCY OF ATTENDANCE OF INDIVIDUALS. 574

Number of Attendances of each person	32	14	13	11	10	8	7	6	5	4	3	2	1	Total	Per cent. village men or women
Men	1	2	1	2	3	3	7	2	3	5	6	10	11	56	81.1
Women	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	2	2	—	2	13	19	32.6

This table again suggests that apart from the village 574
addict, the large majority of men are very moderate in their 276
attendance at parties. Similarly, most women attended only one party during the time records were taken. This voluntary attendance of women is of course to be distinguished from the occasions at which women or girls were present because they were required to make the *kava*. About eighty per cent. of the men of the village and some thirty-two per cent. of all the women of the village attended these *kava* parties. Of the forty-six parties held during this period, women made the *kava* thirty-seven times, men nine times. Of the female *kava*-makers, two girls made *kava* seven times each, the remaining twelve women and girls making *kava* either once or twice each. Young men made the *kava* only when it was impossible to find an available girl: the girls were busy cooking or working or sleeping, or the men were too lazy to look for a girl to make the *kava* for them.

The figures given in this section do not claim any literal 571
or final accuracy. It is sufficient if they indicate incidence 574
and trends and suggest the large part that *kava*-drinking 276
plays in village life. They can well form the structural background for the following discussion of the interrelations of *kava*-drinking and the social life of the village.

The *kava*-plant is easy to plant, easy to grow, but slow 249
to mature. Few men bother to plant, preferring to buy the (432)
prepared root when needed from the store at a price of six (435)
pence per pound. The men who do plant, perhaps half a dozen in the village all told, plant once in two or three years, twenty to fifty cuttings for each planting. March is the best month and the best location is a wet, shady place. The roots are ready to dig up in two to three years. They are scraped clean of bark and dirt, dried in the sun for several days and then stored among the rafters of the house. For ordinary 276
use, a large root is broken into small pieces. For a special 431
gift-occasion or when honouring some visitor, the whole root 574
with long stalk attached is given. The root is laid on a

The root is laid on a
276 mat before the visitor with the stalk pointing towards the
431 receiver. Should he wish to keep it for later use, he takes the
574 root. Should he wish the root to be used immediately, the
[576] visitor reverses the root with the stalk pointing towards the
kava-bowl. It is then taken up by one of the young men
276 present and broken into small pieces with an axe or stone.
The ordinary household considers ten large roots an ample supply for a year. An addict will consider thirty to forty large roots the bare minimum for a year.

276 A boy will start drinking *kava* in public and begin to
574 attend *kava*-parties between the ages of seventeen and
883 twenty. Parents become angry if a younger boy tries to
drink in public or in secret. They will scold and whip him
[861] because they think he is wasting his time and energies. Both boys and girls sometimes chew pieces of *kava* on the sly. If discovered, they are whipped by their parents. The children sometimes do not distinguish between dry and green
276 *kava*. Improperly-dried *kava* (green *kava*) is much more powerful in its effects than dried *kava* and is likely to produce headaches and a feeling of vague malaise. Most girls do not begin to drink *kava* before marriage. Thereafter the majority show no great liking for the drink.

276 A *kava*-drinking party may be started by any man. He goes to the house of his choice and asks for one of the women
574 or girls to make *kava*. Soon he will be joined by other men. Or else two or three men go in a group together. It is usual for a man to go to a different house on successive nights. The householder may provide his own piece of *kava* to start off the drinking. Generally he does not, leaving this to his guests. The householder is reckoned to be providing numerous other services: the house, the bowl, the maker,
276 the lamp, and the kerosene. The first time a man comes to a house to visit, it is bad form for him not to bring a gift of
574 *kava*. A frequent visitor to a house will bring an occasional
576 gift. A visitor from another village uses his own discretion
431 as to whether he brings *kava* with him. If the visitor brings a gift of *kava*-root and the householder provides none, then the householder receives the first cup of *kava*. If on the other hand, the householder also provides *kava*-root, then both pieces are used for the first bowl and the visitor is the one to drink first.

794 pork, and the usual vegetable staples. The guests sat for an
574 hour before all this food while the local pastor led the group
in prayer, hymn-singing and Bible reading. Then the word
was given to eat. The church bell tolling the hour of mid-week
service came all too soon after this. Some guests were
[578] heard to criticize the holding of church services at the usual
hour on this day insofar as they felt that they had not been
given reasonable time to eat as much of the food displayed
[431] as they desired. Many of the guests were given large baskets
of food to take with them when they left. This they brought
out to eat in their own houses when church was finished.
794 While appreciating Koloa's generosity in giving such a large
574 feast, some of the villagers thought that the display was
rather ostentatious if it was for the mere purpose of
578 honouring Sunday-school prize-winners. But Koloa was
554 greatly attached to his two grandchildren, and he had
[603] decided that if he was to give a feast, then only the biggest
feast was good enough for them. He did not overlook the
fact that only a man very wealthy in Tongan foods could
give such a feast. In this way, therefore, Sunday-school
prizes became the excuse to express both his affection for his
children and his status in the village community.

THE LAY-PREACHER

794 With the exception of the village pastors, none are more
793 important in the village in the functioning of the Protestant
churches than the lay-preachers. They occupy a middle
554 stage in the religious hierarchy between pastor at the top
and church congregation at the bottom. They are those
specially devout religious men who for one reason or another
have been unable to qualify for the full period of training
that is necessary before being ordained as a pastor but who
have had sufficient religious fervour to study for and pass
the examinations that are the prerequisite for certification
as a lay-preacher by the Church Conference. The duties of
the lay-preacher in Pangai—there are about five of them
in the Free Wesleyan Church—are to relieve the church
pastor for one or more of the seven church-services and
prayer-meetings each week in Pangai and to help the pastor
by giving further relief in the administration of the Pangai
" circuit " which includes two other villages besides Pangai.

644 upon Fatafehi's hereditary laugh, the more since I found
522 it useful when debates in the House were stormy, and
the opposition had to be silenced.

798 I was anxious to learn from Fatafehi what reception
795 the exiles had really had, for rumours were most conflicting.
571 From his account it appeared that while they
167 had received no welcome from the people at large, this
had been unnoticed in the presents that had been
showered upon them by their immediate relations and
friends irrespective of Church. They were housed in a
large disused building called the "Women's College,"
until such time as they could make arrangements for
moving to their old homes, or the mission should appoint
such of them as were native ministers to vacant parishes.
798 They had not forgotten the hospitality shown to them in
795 Fiji, for late in the afternoon G——, who was alone in the
576 house, saw a long train of men and women approaching
with bales on their shoulders, evidently bent on perpetrating
a ceremony. Now one cannot express gratitude
with any accuracy in dumb-show, and the servants were
therefore despatched in hot haste for an interpreter.
Fortunately kind Mrs S. arrived just in time to save the
situation, and reply to the set speech in which we received
vicariously the gratitude due to the Government of Fiji.
[431] It took the practical shape of a pony, several live pigs,
rolls of *ngatu*, mats, combs, and the inevitable kava. Like
all native presents, they had eventually to be paid for in
return gifts of an equal or higher value.

645 Our new house adjoined the Government College, being
in reality the house of the English principal when such
877 an officer existed. The undergraduates were a continuous
873

V.

HOW I BECAME A PRIVY COUNCILLOR.

I WOKE early with the feeling that a crisis had to be gone 000
through during the day, and that we should need all our
energies. I fondly hoped that a spark of enthusiasm would
have been awakened in the breast of my colleague, and
that he would be as eager as I to have a common plan of
action laid down before our visit to the king, on which so
much depended. But to my intense disgust the kava- 276
bowl, surrounded by its ministering spirits, was in course 574
of preparation, and a precious hour was wasted. I lived
to know that to expect a Tongan chief to forego native
ceremonial in the exigencies of public business is to court
disappointment. We had time for a hurried meal when [264]
Fatafehi, clad in decent black, came to escort me to the
royal presence. He thought it better that I should see 645
the king alone before the Council, and present the precious 643
log of sandal-wood that I had brought as a present from [431]
the High Commissioner. He would stay, he said, during
the interview and interpret for me. Eight men were produced, who lifted the tree on their shoulders, and preceded
us to the native house that did duty for a palace, and,

796 standing, weeping aloud. The dreadful day had come,
781 and one after another the men of the place slunk out to
783 spread the dire news among their comrades in distress.
Plaudits and tears were alike suppressed: this was too serious a matter for ordinary demonstrations. A terrible and damning history fell from the lips of this penitent Phryne of the South Seas. When she had finished there was scarcely a man in the church, but the women sat and drank it all in, and many a household in Sawana dates its domestic troubles from that terrible *bolotu* when Mary "told her soul."

645 We began next day to reap the fruit of the seed
574 scattered at the *bolotu* overnight. We were haunted by
578 visitors. Our political opponents came in, each carrying
[431] in his hand the inevitable root of kava—for a Tongan
[276] making a visit of any ceremony would as soon forget his
kava as an English lady her card-case under similar cir-
[203] cumstances. They sat rubbing shoulders with the spies
from whom we knew exactly how much their new-born
[152] friendship was worth. There was, moreover, a nervous
hilarity about them that showed their sense of the awkwardness of their sudden change of front.

634 At mid-day we summoned a meeting of the Govern-
624 ment officials in the wooden court-house. There were the
[625] judge, the police magistrate, and the pound-keeper, all
malcontents; a dozen policemen and jail-warders, believed to be the same; the Treasury clerk, said to be loyal; and greater than all—the head jailer, Kaho, a
[551] dark horse whom it was important to win over. He
proved to be the white-haired, bright-eyed *matabule*, who had been my neighbour in the king's *faikava*, where he sat

As I passed the gates he was still standing in the sun 645
looking after me. I never saw him again, for eighteen 643
months later he was carried to the Malaekula, full of days and honour, wanting but four years to complete a century of life.

In the House every member was in his place. As soon 645
as I had taken my seat Tungi left the chair and came to 646
the table. He had, he said, been deputed by the House 431
to tender to me the thanks of the chiefs and people of Tonga, and to ask me to accept from them a memento of my sojourn among them. At the end of his speech he put a heavy bag into my hands. In my reply I explained that the rules of my service forbade me to accept any present from them, and that for doing no more than was required of him no man was entitled to reward. Instead of so valuable a present, I begged them to give me something of little value to remind me of them when I was far away,—whose value should lie in the associations that clung to it instead of in its intrinsic worth; for I should prize such a present even more highly, in that it would not carry with it the discharge of an obligation. I afterwards found that, despite my representations, they had asked the High Commissioner to present me on their behalf with a beautiful service of plate, a gift that I shall always prize the more that it was sent after I had left them, and any temporary heat of enthusiasm had had time to flame out, leaving a steady warmth of feeling behind it.

As I spoke of the vicissitudes of life that throw men 645
into close companionship for a common work, and then 646
separates them, perhaps for ever, I saw that they as well

825 763 to live"—a statement which, as the old gentleman's age verged upon seventy, we were not in a position to gainsay. The king, who is as enlightened as anyone in his kingdom, was scarcely less positive. "It is one of those things," he said, "that one would fain laugh at, but it has come true so often that one is compelled, against his will, to believe it true." Well, ten days passed, and Ata attended the great council of chiefs assembled to consider the treaty, the halest and liveliest of the old gentlemen present. I noticed that while he was chaffing two members of the cabinet, the bystanders regarded him with the tender, melancholy interest which is supposed to be bestowed upon the man in the condemned cell, and this may have told upon his spirits; for certain it is that a few weeks after my departure from the islands I received the news that he was dead. That superstition will die hard, and if I were Ata's successor I would see to it that a few of the flying-foxes were caught and tied to their perches by a string.

431 609 One morning two of Kubu's nieces, accompanied by an aged duenna, brought presents from their uncle, who perhaps felt that, since his dual rôle as my friend and the king's father-in-law had been beyond his powers, some pledge of our old

intimacy would not be out of place. Among the 431
things was a set of stamps for printing the native 609
cloth, and when I hastened to appropriate these, the younger sister, who has kittenish manners, broke in with "Oh, but *I* made these; they are not for you, they are for this gentleman!" Webber did his best to rise to this embryonic flirtation, but it died stillborn in nods and smiles for want of an interpreter. As the conversation dragged and the ladies showed no consciousness of having discharged their mission, it was suggested that they should face the camera by way of complimentary dismissal. They were nothing 826
loath, but the elder sister stipulated for the loan of a silk handkerchief to hide her neck. As she had the ordinary English neck of not ungraceful outline, and her sister, who had no neck to speak of, showed none of this bashfulness, our curiosity was aroused. It was thus that we discovered the Tongan ideal of female loveliness. The perfect woman must be fat—that is most imperative—her neck must be short (like the younger sister's); she must have no waist, and if Nature has cursed her with that defect she must disguise it with draperies, or submit to be "miscalled" in the streets of Nukualofa; her bust and hips and thighs must be colossal. The woman who pos-

digression. At any other time his excursions 648
would have been interesting, for, untrained as 643
he is, he possesses the historical and literary
instinct, and he can tell a good story. I think 191
that it was while we were discussing the relative
merits of the Tongan synonyms for the word
Protectorate that he suddenly inquired my opinion
upon the close connection between the Tongan
and Hebrew tongues. I hastened to turn the
subject, assuring him that I had never thought
about the matter, for that hoary folly of the
Ten Lost Tribes was in the air; but he said
that it was his own discovery. Someone had
given him a Hebrew book to look at, and in
one page he had found no less than six Tongan
words. He quoted the conjunction *kaeuma'a*,
which, he said, occurred in both languages with
the same meaning. On another occasion he 643
brought out the piece of hand-made red cloth 431
which I was to take home as a present to the 648
Queen. This had been given by Captain Cook [175]
to the Tamahá, the noblest lady in the land, and
had been preserved by the family of the Tui
Haatéiho. It was a large piece of hand-made
woollen cloth, rather loosely woven and of a
rusty red colour, with a black selvedge edge,
and it smelt strongly of sandalwood oil, having

648 been worn on great occasions by chiefs anointed
643 with that precious essence. It is now, I believe,
431 among the curiosities in the royal collection at
175 Windsor Castle. He then told me some native
177 traditions of Cook's visit. When the vessels
829 were seen approaching Hihifo in 1773 there was
a heated discussion among the Tongans as to
whence they came. The king mimicked the
querulous intonation of the old Tongans very
funnily. "Whence come they?" said one.
"Seuke!" exclaimed the old chief, Eikinaba, a
noted wit in his day, "why, from the land of
riches—from Babalangi!" (or, as we might say,
from Brobdignag), and the nickname Babalangi
has stuck to Europeans ever since. *Ba-ki-langi*
("shooting up to heaven") is the derivation which
Fatafehi favours, meaning that the ships' masts
reached to the sky. When the Tongans boarded
the *Resolution*, the same chief, Eikinaba, noticed
a strange yam on the deck and picked it up.
"I *give* you that," said Tute (Cook), and from
that day this kind of yam was called the *Kivi*.
[241] Favoured perhaps by the cooler climate and the
new soil, this yam has grown to colossal dimensions.
Cook had probably brought it from
Rarotonga, or from Tahiti.

563 Of the number of curious petitions to which I

15: Thomson G-3 (1886-1900) 1902
OU9 Tonga OU9

648 people came on board to take leave of us. From
the king came a note enclosing his letter to the
Queen and thanking me for all that had been
[431] done. Of the numerous native presents the most
interesting was that from my fellow-plenipotentiary, Fatafehi, who sent a curious stone celt.*

000 As the sun set Tonga was a mere cloud upon
the horizon, and the *Porpoise* was plunging in
642 a heavy westerly swell. I had seen the little
kingdom in three phases—under the dictatorship
of Mr. Baker in 1886, under old King George
in 1891, when I was one of his ministers, and as
648 a British Protectorate. May the Protectorate
remain purely nominal for many years to come!
That rests with the Tongans. If they will
abstain from squabbling among themselves, keep
free from debt, and govern themselves decently,

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[177] * This celt measures 9½ inches long by 3⅝ inches wide in the broadest part, made of an olive-green stone with grey longitudinal veins, and beautifully polished. It was clear that it had come from another part of the Pacific, for the Tongan celts are wedge-shaped, angular, and roughly made. Sir William Macgregor, who saw it on my return to England, at once pronounced it to be from New Guinea, and identified the stone as belonging to the quarry that he had discovered in Woodlark Island. All that Fatafehi could say was that it had been for generations in his family, and if this was true, the celt might be used as evidence of a Tongan migration from the west, for there were no whalers or sandalwooders before 1790; but there have been Tongan teachers working in New Guinea, and he may have been mistaken about its age.

797 refreshments by our kind entertainers, we sailed again for home.

March 7th.—Started at daybreak for Hologa, a place nine miles distant from Neiafu. There having been heavy rains during the last few days, the roads were in bad condition. The country is very undulating in this direction, and, in some localities, the rains having washed away the alluvial soil from the underlying strata of clay, it was almost impossible to keep one's footing, or make any advance. We were met, however, by a party of men 797 from Hologa, who, knowing the state of the roads, 494 had brought a *fata*, or rude palanquin, on which to [493] carry me forward. It was not so stylish as those of the Eastern continent, but it afforded a welcome relief to wearied limbs. It consisted of a cocoanut leaf mat doubled, and having a pole inserted at each end. I sat upon the mat, and was borne along by four men. The poor fellows had many a slip, and were bathed in perspiration; but they would not hear of my descending again to walk. They seemed really proud at having a Missionary to carry, and were not a little pleased that my weight was nothing when compared to that of my venerable and portly colleague, Mr. Turner, for whom they had often done the same kind service. 797 The delightful work of the day amply made up for all the toil. Found it very profitable to explain the Scripture lessons read. The people seemed greatly interested; and when the service was concluded, and we had retired to the Teacher's house, many questions were asked on various passages of Scripture, to all of which I gave explanations according to my ability.

[794] Friday, 12th.—To-day we have been busy enough

[431]

in a new and pleasing work,—that of receiving contributions 797
in cocoa-nut oil from our Church members 794
in Neiafu alone, in aid of the General Mission 431
Funds. Each separate group of people advanced, bringing their contributions to the front of the
Mission House, while singing some well-known [533)
hymn tune, or a plaintive native air to suitable words, expressive of Christian experience and joy. The sight was highly pleasing and suggestive. About one hundred and thirty gallons were received. This is a fair beginning: and, as all the places in Haafuluhao are engaged to do something, we expect to have a considerable quantity ready, for shipment to the colony, on the arrival of the "John Wesley." The few Englishmen residing here have also sent in contributions of several dollars; and their example has been followed by some of the chiefs, who have had the means of obtaining money from ships and traders.

Sunday, 14th.—Preached this morning at our 797
large chapel in Neiafu; but, in consequence of an excruciating headache and feverishness, felt unequal to any great exertion. The weather extremely sultry and the heat intense. Having rested a little after service, I went to an adjacent village, to preach what may be called a Missionary Sermon. The object was to encourage the present movement among the natives for the support and extension of Missionary effort among themselves, and in surrounding islands in these seas. Our service continued in the midst of heavy rain and storm till after sunset. Being thoroughly exhausted, Noa Maui, one of my boatmen who had accompanied me, would not allow me to
walk. Both of us were wet and weary, but he insisted [482)
upon carrying me all the way home on his broad shoulders. The Lord will reward him in "that day."

one body. No particle of clay or earthy mould is 764
allowed to touch the remains of the dead. The
sand is brought in baskets by the chief mourners,
who sometimes sail or journey many miles to procure
it; and each person pours the contents into
the grave, until it is sufficiently filled up. The top
of the grave is, afterwards, carefully tended and
decorated with black pebbles and red coral,
arranged in various devices, which have a very
pretty effect. Small houses are also placed over [565]
the tombs of the chiefs and gentry. Owing, however, [349]
to the circumstance that many of the religious 769
practices of heathenism required visits, and 178
offerings, at the graves of deceased individuals,
whose interposition with the gods was thought
necessary, these places were much more carefully
attended to formerly than they are now. Indeed,
the Missionaries will, probably, find it needful to
advise the people against running into the extreme
of negligence, and indifference, about the last
resting-places of deceased friends.

In the days of heathenism, occasions of burials 574
and marriages were accompanied by immense feastings, 431
proportioned according to the rank of the
parties, or the will of those connected with them.
Property, of various kinds, was always prepared by
the relations and friends against these times, and
brought as gifts. These were thrown into one
common stock, from which they were again distributed,
by those authorized to do so, to the
assembled company. These distributions of property 574
often led to bitter family and tribal animosities, 431
and were seasons when the true and inordinate 578
covetousness of the people could not remain
concealed. These practices still continue, to some [178]

574 extent, and form the chief source from whence
431 evils arise, among church members, which re-
578 quire the exercise of discipline by the Mission-
178 aries.

181 The morals of the Tonguese were never so
thoroughly debased as those of the Sandwich or
577 Society Islanders, and other groups that might
be named; but there was enough, nevertheless, to
show how low humanity could fall, when without
the restraints and sanctions of a Divine faith.
595 Polygamy was common, the number of a man's
wives depending upon his own inclination, and his
ability to keep them. Some sentiments relative to
[837] connubial fidelity prevailed, which may be said to
have bordered on morality; for, after the parties
[586] ~~had~~ lived together a while, mutually pleased, it was
considered disgraceful to separate. There were
also some, even among the better classes, who were
content to live with one wife only; and examples
of domestic happiness were by no means uncom-
847 mon. Infanticide did not disgrace the history,
and destroy the vitality of the Tonguese nation.
855 Children were nurtured with great care and affec-
tion; and aged people were not subjected to the
888 neglect and cruelty that was dealt out to such
persons in Fiji and other Polynesian groups. Yet,
181 with all this, there was much lasciviousness, and
831 want of natural affection.

152 There can be no doubt as to the existence of
266 cannibalism in these islands in former days. It
never became so prevalent as it once was in New
Zealand, nor so truly atrocious in its character,
as it now is, or has been in very recent years, in
the islands of Fiji. It was customary, however,
in times of war; and strange tales are told of one

276 The speakers do not stand to deliver these speeches,
574 but slide forward in two jerks, returning to their places
643 by two backward slides when they have finished.

537 The mats and cloth where the king sits are given to
516 Ata when the ceremony is finished; the king's clothing,
276 *vala*, to Motu'apuaka and Lauaki. Whilst the *kava* is being
574 prepared Motu'apuaka and Lauaki dispute about who is to
643 distribute it. Originally, it seems, there was a contention
565
622 in real earnest, which was finally brought to the test of
[431] who (or whose son) had slain most men in a battle. In this Lauaki won the pre-eminence, but later gave the honour up to Motu'apuaka, who still holds it. The traditional dispute, however, is part of the ceremony. When the water was ordered at the Queen's installation to mix the *kava*, a number of people jumped up and ran to fetch it. The water was brought from a tank, or other supply, at a little distance; and presently there was a crowd of runners, going and coming, between the water supply and the *kava*-bowl. None brought much at a time. Anyone who had a large container contrived to spill a considerable amount of the water he was carrying before he reached the bowl. In the midst of this bustle there was a certain amount of good-humoured splashing of those engaged in the task.

The explanation given of this custom is that it is to show how large a number of people are eager to fly in the service of the king. All sorts of receptacles are used now-a-days, including buckets, but it is said that formerly only small vessels, such as hollow bamboos, were used. The hibiscus fibre with which the *kava* is strained is supplied in seven portions, a portion each by the Ha'a Ma'afu, the Ha'a Ngata, the Ha'a Havea, the Ha'a Ngata tupu, the Ha'a Ata (Tongatea of Ha'akame), the Ha'a Vaea (Luani of Vava'u), and the Ha'a Maofanga (in Hihifo; Latukefu has charge of this portion).

276 As the Queen moved onto the *mala'e* for her installa-
574 tion she was preceded by a man who ran ahead, brandishing
643 a spear, crouching and looking round. His face was black-
644 ened, and he had the appearance of a scout or guard; but
in his performance was a strong element of burlesque. The
most extraordinary part of his behaviour was during the
[576] actual *kava* ceremony. He was free of all *tapu*, and his
[784] conduct, in other circumstances, would have been shockingly offensive. He smoked, lounged, and walked close

PRIESTS.

276 The suggestion has been made that priests were free
574 to sit in the *alofi* of all *kava* ceremonies. It is said that a
793 living pastor of the Methodist Church, belonging to Ha'ano,
643 of which island the chief alone, the Tu'i Ha'a-ngana, and his *matapule*, have places in the *alofi* of the king's *kava* party, sat in the *alofi* at a *kava* party of the late king, George Tupou II. When his position was challenged he claimed the right to be there as a *taula-'eiki*, priest, because of his status as a pastor in the Mission, and his claim was allowed. Doubtless this case illustrates the king's good nature rather than the cleric's inherent right, but points to ancient priestly privilege.

KAVA TO A TRAVELLING PARTY.

276 The root is brought and placed before the leader of
574 the travelling party, or man of highest rank amongst them.
485 He thanks the donors for their gift, picks it up, and puts
565 it down again. The *matapule* of the highest chief present,
554 whether he is one of the travellers or not, calls for the
624 *kava* to be brought to him, and has the whole, or portion,
● [431] prepared and drunk. The piece of root not being beaten up and brewed, or some other piece of *kava*, lies before the *matapule* the while. When one round has been drunk he orders the piece of *kava* lying before him to be taken to the *matapule* on the other side of the chief (in important *kava* ceremonies of all kinds the highest chief has a *matapule* on either hand, other chiefs present have but one). This *matapule* will then supervise a second round of drinking, using the liquor left in the bowl from the first round, if there be enough, or ordering the pieces already strained out to be beaten up and used again, or having a fresh piece of root prepared. If there be a third round the piece of root and supervision return to the first *matapule*, and so on.

The passing of function from one *matapule* to the other is not confined to parties welcoming travellers.

276 In any *kava* party the *matapule* may at the point when
574 it is announced that the *kava* is clear, *Kuo ma'a ae kava ni*,
565 give away the *kava* that is in front of him to anybody in
624 the ring, to do what he likes with. Guests are frequently so honoured. The *matapule* says, *Tauhi 'ae kava ni ma'a*

423 inherited. In the case of hereditary estates the inheritance descends to
428 the issue of the deceased holder *in infinitum*. Males and females may
succeed, but male issue is preferred to female of the same degree.
562 Thus the estate devolves upon the eldest son of the deceased holder in
the first instance, and if he dies, to his eldest son; if there is no such
son, then to his eldest surviving brother who now carries on the line
848 under the same rules. A person not born in wedlock may not succeed;
but for this purpose a person is regarded as legitimate even if he was
obviously conceived before the marriage of his parents.

423 There are similar rules regarding tax allotments. The inheritance
428 descends in the first place to the eldest son of the deceased holder; and
562 if he dies, to his eldest son. If there is no such son, then his eldest
surviving brother may succeed. But where there is neither son nor
brother to succeed, an unmarried daughter may succeed for her life.
If there are several daughters, however, they may succeed jointly for
581 their lives. A female's right to land under these laws may be put aside
833 if she marries or if she is proved in the Land Court to have indulged
in sexual intercourse. With both males and females interest in land
is never more than a life interest.[16]

3—A SAMPLE TONGAN VILLAGE AND ITS LANDS

The village in which I investigated the operation of this system is
101 situated four miles from the capital town of Nuku'alofa. It is a fairly
162 large village with a population of 653 persons living in 106 households.
621 The village population represents 1.24 per cent of the entire population
of Tonga.

The strongest single force binding the members of the village
621 together is their common allegiance to their high chief who is also the
622 high chief of a number of other nearby villages. He is recognized as
431 having the authority to call upon every household in the village to
supply gifts of yams and pigs, mats and *tapa* cloth, whenever the need
arises for such accumulations to be made, such as on the marriage or
431 death of a member of Royalty or of the nobility. Although there are no
specified occasions for the presentation of first fruits to him by the
villagers, and he does not call for any, particular households do occasionally perform the service voluntarily in recognition of his position.[17]
423 Apart from the political aspect of such position, it has also a very
621 important economic aspect: the estate from which individual tax allot-
622 ments are granted to members of the village are his hereditary *tofia*.
Tax allotments are regarded as being held from him, and this exercises
a powerful influence in upholding his authority and strengthening his
position in relation to the whole village.

621 There is also a Town Officer, who is appointed by the Government
644 to be its representative within the village and through whom it makes

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[16] A person who succeeds to the title to land in this context holds the land for himself. He may permit others, including his brothers, to derive sustenance from it, but this gives them no right of their own to it.

[17] See in this connection Beaglehole 1941:10.

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Eyes sparkling with pride, each of these ladies of the Foa Handicraft Co-op in Ha'apai displays her own hand-crafted piece of tapa cloth. The local co-op was formed recently with the aid of a Peace Corps Volunteer.

[648]

'Oku mahino mei he fofonga malimali 'o e kau fefine ni 'a 'enau takitaha laukau'aki 'a 'ene konga ngatu. Ko e kau fefine 'eni mei he kautaha fakamea'a fetokoni'aki 'i Foa, Ha'apai. Na'e kamata e kautaha ni 'e ha toko taha ngaue 'ofa mei 'Amelika (Peace Corps).

Mat weaving is a very important part of life in Tonga today. In addition to being used everyday for floor covering and bedding, mats are also traditionally presented on all special occasions (e.g. weddings, births, funerals). Most weaving materials come from a variety of species of the pandanus plant. In the photo at right, Halamehi Tu'imana skillfully weaves an edging into her newly-woven *lotaha* (single thickness) mat in Ha'atu'a, 'Eua. 285 352 431 142 291

'Oku kei fai lahi e lalanga 'i Tonga he ngaahi 'aho ni. 'Oku ngaue'aki foki e fala ke faliki 'aki he fale, pea hoko foki ko e me'a'ofa 'i he taimi 'oku fai ai ha mali, fa'ele pe ko ha putu. Ko e ngaahi lou'akau kehekehe 'oku fai 'aki e lalanga. 'Oku ha 'i he ta 'i to'omata'u 'a Halamehi Tu'imana 'oku fai 'ene lalanga lotaha 'i Ha'atu'a, 'Eua.

39: Gerstle & Raitt C,Q-4,5 (1952-1972) 1974 OU9 Tonga OU9

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bride's mother to share the pleasure with. She was also very much 585
pleased and gave another bark cloth to her daughter. The young couple 591
had been staying at his parents' house until they built their own hut in
the *api kolo* of his father's a few years later. Her parents eagerly wanted 844
to bring her back for her first delivery. The first son was born under [591]
her parental roof and the new mother spent there about three months for
her recuperation. On the day of its birth, her father made *umu*, includ- [603]
ing one chicken and one pig; her mother gave the baby two mats (*fala*
paongo and *fala tofua*) and two sheets of bark cloth (ten *langanga* and [431]
five *langanga*); the husband's mother gave some napkins, mosquito net
and cloth.

Funerals

When a husband dies, his wife, mother or brothers wash his body 764
immediately. If the dead person is a women, her mother, sisters or 593
mother's sisters undertake this task, and her husband may help them. [604]
Children may touch their mother, but not their father. After they rub
the corpse with candle nut oil, they put on its clothes. Nowadays, a 764
white shirt is used as an inner wear, and it is wrapped round with bark
cloth called *vala lotu*, for which any kind of new bark cloth is used. Its
size is not uniform; four *langanga* is enough for a child and five to eight
langanga for an adult. This is prepared generally by those women to
whom the dead stands in a near relation, namely his wife, mother,
mother's sister and so on. Some bark cloths and mats are piled in the
middle of the house, on which the corpse wrapped with *valu lotu* is laid.
They cover the corpse again with *ngafingafi* and *kie* which is called *feta'u*.
Instead of these mats a piece of white silk may be used now as a covering
of a corpse.

Then, they send for a steward to lead prayer. Two or three *fahu*, [794]
that is *ilamutu*, of the dead, regardless of sex, takes seats close to the head [792]
of the dead. The seat-ordering among these *fahu* does not seem to be
strict. The family members and relations of the dead sit inside the room; [593]
when the dead is a man his children and sisters are excluded from the
room, and her brothers are excluded when a woman dies. After the
steward finishes his prayer, people express their condolence by turns,
weeping and kissing. The near relations offer *fihu* and bark cloth, and
the remote relations, friends and villagers deck the centre of the room
with a piece of cloth and garland. On this special occasion, the children
and sisters may kiss the corpse to bid farewell to the dead man, and the
brothers may do the same to the dead sister. As soon as they bid farewell,
they should leave the room and rest in a temporarily built shelter. All
day long people mourn and neighbours stand outdoors and sign hymns.
Liongi, that is younger brothers, *fa'e tangata* and those who are inferior
in rank to the dead person, have a lot of miscellaneous works to do, for
example boiling water and serving *topai* (a kind of dumpling in soup)
and tea to visitors. It is the *ulu i famili* who assigns them duties. Mean- 764
while, one of the *liongi* prepares *kava*, and men drink until next morn- 276
ing. The first cup should go to T. Leka, and the subsequent cup may go 574
to any present *matapule*.

592 members to make adequate contributions of goods and labor
511 on a wide range of ceremonial occcasions that occur at
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621 irregular intervals throughout the year such as feasts,
funerals, and weddings. There is a class of goods called
koloa ('treasure') that come into play only on ceremonial
[289] occasions. These consist mainly of finely-woven mats of
[287] various kinds (kie, fihu, and ngafingafi) and decorated
[554] tapa-cloth (ngatu). Koloa, which is amassed through
[431] manufacture by women of the household or through previous
ceremonial prestation to members of the household, is
used to express status relations between giver and
receiver on occasions such as weddings and funerals.[7]
[431] If one does not have koloa, one cannot participate in
ceremonial exchanges, and not to do so is to be outside
the system of rights and obligations that are the foundation
592 tion of anga faka-Tonga ('the Tongan way'). Similarly,
621 to participate in the community, a household must give
476
574 feasts and contribute to others' feasts. Contributions
[262] consist mainly of appropriate livestock or other foods:
pigs, chickens, lobsters, tinned beef, yams, watermelon
--in sum, feast food. To some extent, services such as
assistance in preparing and serving the feast can be

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[7] For descriptions of ceremonial exchanges in Tonga, see Aoyagi (1966: 167-172), Beaglehole (1941: 91-98), and Collocott (1923: 221-225).

574 These amounts reflect the relatively high standard of
511 living on Tongatapu in 1969-70; people living on the
more remote islands, with restricted sources of income, would have less lavish pola.

592 According to my estimate, there were only five
574 households in Motulahi that could afford to sponsor a
476 feast without assistance. Yet almost every household in
[511] the village manages to host at least one feast every
[431] twelve to fifteen months. They are able to do so because
they are assisted by contributions of food and labor from the households of a wide range of relatives and other

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[648] --the lū, and placing this in an outer wrapping of banana leaves and steaming it in the earth oven); 5 bundles of lū pulu māsima (lū with salt beef) and 8 bundles of other lū with assorted fillings of various seafoods; 3 large fish and 2 medium-sized fish (steamed whole in the earth oven), and 4 small fish (roasted over an open fire); 8 boiled chickens and 12 lobsters, also boiled; 23 bundles of faikakai (a steamed sweet pudding), 10 large yams and 11 large sweet potatoes, all cooked in the earth oven; and, to complete the pola, 10 drinking coconuts, 10 small dishes of various cold meats and fish, ripe plantains and bananas stuck wherever there was a gap too small to be filled with anything larger, 1½ 20-lb. watermelons cut in large serving slices, and three plates of sliced store-bought fruit cake. The only standard feast food not presented on the pola was bowls of fruit salad with icecream (omitted because the icecream would have melted before it could be served). It took eight men, each accustomed to carrying 50-lb. bunches of bananas, to carry the pola in triumph, shoulder high, to the waiting truck that would transport it to the feast site in Nuku'alofa. The pola was so magnificent that it was selected for presentation as one of five pola placed in the Royal enclosure The other pola in the Royal enclosure were prepared in the Palace kitchens.

592 associates whom they have assisted in the past. This is
574 not to say that the household is considered to be the unit
476 that makes the contributions, for contributions are viewed
●[431] as coming from individuals. The household itself is the unit in feasting activities only when a member of the household is hosting the feast. Nevertheless, when a person makes contributions to a feast at another household, he does this with goods from the common pool of resources in his own household. The greater a household's participation as a contributor through the contributions of its members, the more assistance the household will receive when it comes time for a household member to act as host.

592 While a household is not expected to be self-suffi-
511 cient when it comes to hosting a feast, it must be able, in one way or another, to provide for the other material needs of its members (i.e., everyday material requirements, periodic cash outlays, and the means of making adequate contributions on ceremonial occasions). To do so, however, the household must have the means of access either to the products of an agricultural allotment or to the income from some job, and preferably both. Without one or the other, no household in Tonga is viable (although it is true that there is less need for cash on the more remote islands, and less likelihood of access to a job away from Tongatapu).

[434] In 1970, 42 households in Motulahi had no source of

592 423 476 someone who has an accessible allotment may permit members of the landless household to have access to his land to grow short-term food crops and to pick coconuts (or, less commonly, to help the allotment owner raise his crops and receive a share of the harvest). In his study of land tenure and social organization in a village on Tongatapu, Nayacakalou makes the following observations regarding the sharing of land:

> Of the 27 households which have no api of their own in the village [out of a total of 106 households], 4 have api in another village, 4 others are using api the owners of which are away, and the remaining 19 share the use of the api of others (1959: 105).

He goes on to make this comment:

> When land is short and a number of families have to go without, they can usually make do by sharing the use of the api of others or by using the api of those who are away from the village. . . . Of the 19 households that share the use of the api of others in the village under study, 10 share with related households and 9 share with unrelated ones. Of the 9 that share with unrelated households, 5 have no relatives in the village (1959: 109).

592 423 In Motulahi, both the allotment-holders concerned and the people who were given access to their land assured me that there was no material consideration involved in providing [431] such access (which would be illegal). At most, they said, the allotment owner might be given a few baskets of produce as a gift, but this was not a matter of payment. Other informants, however, asserted that this was not all there was to it in some cases, and told me the details

47: Decktor Korn E-5 (1969-1970) 1975 OU9 Tonga OU9
Tongatapu
Motulahi

> 602 Although . . . the language of kinship plays a dominating role in the
> 592 expression of social relationships, social behaviour is not constrained by the
> 171 prior existence of kinship corporations. It is not so much that the Sinhalese order their economic lives in accord with kinship relations as that their kinship relations are an expression of the way in which they order their economic lives (1960:123).

592 The resources available to the Tongan household must be sufficient to provide for three types of expenditures: expenditures for everyday material needs, periodic cash outlays, and contributions of goods and labor on ceremonial occasions.

592 The everyday material needs of a household consist mainly of
511 foodstuffs and fuel, along with petty cash for such items as bus fares, matches, and soap. Foodstuffs and fuel are derived mainly from locally cultivated subsistence products. (There must, of course, be labor available to prepare and make use of these products, hence the need for human capital). Everyday foodstuffs that are purchased include bread, flour, sugar, salt, tea, cocoa, and dried milk. The frequency and amounts of such purchases varies mainly according to how much cash is available.

A household must also have the cash for periodic outlays to pay
[651] members' expenses, such as income taxes, the annual poll tax on every
[774] male over the age of 15, church contributions, and schooling expenses
[871] for the children, as well as to buy store-bought goods such as clothing
592 and fabric, household utensils, and other implements. Such purchases
511 and expenditures generally require relatively large cash outlays, which
434 are seldom provided for through systematic savings. Instead, members
of the household make a special effort to assemble the money shortly
[462] before it is needed. Men collect coconuts and make copra or else sell the
coconuts directly to the Tonga Copra Board, while women prepare
[433] handicrafts for sale to tourists. There is noticeably more copra-making
[438] activity and also a well-stocked handicrafts bazaar in the weeks
preceding a new school term, when money is needed for books, uniforms and school fees. Usually, people try to make more money than is needed for the major outlay at hand, with whatever is left being doled out to provide cash for everyday needs until another major effort is made.

592 Finally, a household must have the means for its members to make
434 adequate contributions of goods and labor on a wide range of
431 ceremonial occasions that occur at irregular intervals throughout the
285 year: feasts, funerals, weddings, and so forth. There is a class of goods
287 called *koloa* ("treasure") that come into play only on ceremonial
occasions; these consist mainly of finely woven mats of various kinds
[554] (*kie*, *fihu*, and *ngafingafi*) and printed tapa-cloth (*ngatu*). *Koloa*, which is
[571] amassed through manufacture by women of the household or through

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previous ceremonial prestation to members of the household, is used to 592
express status relations between giver and receiver.[9] If one does not have 434
koloa, one cannot participate in ceremonial exchanges, and not to do so 431
is to be outside the system of rights, expectations, and obligations that 285 287
are the foundation of *anga faka-Tonga*, "the Tongan way." 554

Similarly, to be a member of the community, a household must give 571
feasts and contribute to others' feasts. Contributions consist mainly of 592
appropriate livestock or foods: pigs, chickens, lobsters, tinned beef, 574
yams, watermelon—in sum, feast food. To some extent, moreover, such 621
services as assistance in preparing and serving the feast can be substituted for contributions of food. (Especially close friends and relatives will usually provide both.[10]) According to my estimate, there were only five households in the village of Motulahi that could afford to sponsor a feast without assistance. Yet, almost every household in the village manages to host at least one feast every 12 to 15 months. They can afford to do so because they are assisted by contributions from other households whom they have assisted in the past. This is not to say that the household is considered as the unit that makes the contributions, for contributions are viewed as coming from individuals. The household itself is the unit in feasting activities only if a member of the household is hosting the feast. Nevertheless, when a person makes contributions to a feast at another household, he obtains the goods from the common pool of resources in his own household. The greater a household's participation as a contributor through the contributions of its members, the more assistance the household will receive when it comes time to act as host.

SOURCES OF HOUSEHOLD INCOME

While a household is not expected to be self-sufficient when it comes 592
to hosting a feast, it must be able, in one way or another, to provide for 434
the other material needs of its members. To do so, however, the household must have the means of access either to the products of an agricultural allotment or to the income from some job, and preferably both. Without one or the other, no household is viable (although it is true that there is less need for cash away from the main island of Tongatapu, and certainly less likelihood of access to a job).

In 1970, 42 Motulahi households had no source of cash income other 592
than the production and preparation for sale of coconuts and/or copra 434
(see Table 6). In other words, almost 30% of the households in the 464

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[9] For a description of ceremonial exchanges in Tonga, see Aoyagi (1966:167-72), Beaglehole and Beaglehole (1941:91-98), and Collocott (1923:221-225).

[10] For a discussion of the membership and activities associated with Tongan kin groups at the local level, see Aoyagi (1966:150-160) and Decktor Korn (1974:9-11).

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 249]

12

TONGAN KIN GROUPS: THE NOBLE & THE COMMON VIEW

612 None of the *famili* in the village where I was based goes back more than six generations to a common ancestor of all the stem members, and this includes at least three living generations. Some of the *famili* consist only of the households of a group of brothers and sisters and their parents (if the old couple are alive and living in the village), a total of no more than four or five households. The largest *famili* in the village goes back five generations to a common ancestor, and includes 4 living generations and more than 20 households, but this *famili* is in process of segmenting, having previously split off a generation ago from another, now entirely separate, *famili* in the village.

It must be understood that membership in a localised sibling descent grouping and membership in a *famili* are not the same thing. An individual could be closely related consanguineally to more than one sibling descent group in his village, or he could be related to one such group and his spouse to another, but the members of any one household probably would 612 not be members of more than one *famili*. The reason is that membership 476 is dependent on frequent and consistent participation in *famili* activities. [431 This includes contributions of material goods and labour on a wide range of feasting occasions—feasts for weddings and funerals, church feasts, [574 welcoming feasts, and so on. Members of the *famili* are expected to make contributions and participate without being asked to do so. In return, they can expect the same kind of assistance when they give feasts or other big public displays. This is an important point of contrast between *famili* and *kainga*, for *kainga* may also function as a circumscriptive resource group. However, while *kainga* members are appropriate people to provide assistance, if they are not also members of one's own *famili* one must go to them and ask for assistance. Doing so puts one in a subordinate position, which is not the case in provision of assistance within the *famili*. Nevertheless, one goes to a member of the *kainga* for things that cannot [423 be provided within the *famili*. This applies particularly to the use of land for a short-term period to grow a cash crop like watermelon. Thus the *kainga* is a residual source of assistance, supplementing the *famili*. Besides [574 assistance, participation in the *famili* and the obligations of membership [431 involve continual informal interaction with other members and member-households: visiting, gossiping, working together in the fields or around the house, like doing laundry together, and sending small gifts of food back and forth. So long as a person continues to fulfil all these obligations, 612 he or she remains a member of the *famili*. From this description it should be clear that it is extremely burdensome materially, and might well be impossible socially, either to maintain these formal and informal obligations with more than one *famili* at a time or to have members of the same [628 household involved in membership in different *famili*. Thus, people who live in different villages will usually not be members of the same *famili*. If they are, it involves a lot of journeying back and forth and seldom occurs except in the case of neighbouring villages or if there is no *famili* within the village with which a household can affiliate itself.

The obverse of the point that an individual does not belong to more than one *famili* is that *famili* tend not to overlap in their active membership, 000 imperceptibly effected, the waves receeding with it leaves a dry rock behind for the reception of broken coral, sand &ca.[1]

After leaving Palmerstone Island I steered west with a view of
122 making the best of my way to Annamocka. We still continued to have variable Winds, frequently between the North and West, with Squals, thunder and much rain. During these Showers which were generally very copious we saved a good quantity of water; and finding we could get more by the rain in an hour than by the still in a Month, I laid it aside as a thing attended with more trouble than profit.[2]

Thur. 24[3] In the night between the 24th and 25th we pass'd Savage island,[4]
Fri. 25
Mon. 28 and on the 28th at 10 AM we made the islands which lay to the Eastward of Anamocka,[5] bearing WBN about 4 or 5 leagues distant. I steered to the South of these islands and then hauled up for Anamocka, which at 4 PM bore NWbN, Tellefages[6] SWBS and Comango[7] NBW distant about five miles. The Weather being Squally with rain, I anchored at the approach of night in 15 fathom water over a bottom of Coral sand and Shells, Comango bearing NW about 2
[439] leagues distant. Soon after we had Anchored, we caught with hook and line a good quantity of fish and the inhabitants of the island brought off a few Cocoanuts and bread fruit which they exchanged for nails.

TUESDAY 29*th*. At 4 AM sent Lieutenant King with two boats to Comango to procure refreshments, and at 5 made the Signal weighed
439 in order to ply up to Anamocka, the wind being at NW. It was no sooner day light than we were visited by several people who came

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431 634

[1] It is interesting to find Cook indulging in the reasoning of the foregoing paragraph; and as usual, when he generalizes from his own direct observation, he is not far from the truth as it was obtainable in pre-Darwin days. He is generalizing on 'low' islands, be it noted, not on the volcanic variety; and he mentions, only to ignore after mentioning, the theory that low islands may have been thrown up by earthquakes. He had probably discussed the matter with Anderson; cf. pp. 855–7 below.

[2] 'Our Stock of Water being reduced to 7½ Tons, went to a daily allowance of 2 quarts, exclusive of what was used for boiling the pease, wheat and sweet wort. this regulation makes one Hogshead last the 24 hours. Water on board at leaving New Zealand, 27 Tons.'—Burney journal, 21 April.—'left the Water Cask free again, having this last week, caught at different times with our Awnings, between 3 and 4 Tons of rain water.'—ibid., 26 April.—'We've had some very heavy showers during these 24 Hours. We caught a Ton of Water which we find very good.'—Clerke, 26 April.

[3] 'Philip Woodfie[l]d Carpenters mate whilst in the execution of his duty on deck fell down and broke his leg.'—Griffin. He fell under the tiller, adds Burney.

[4] Niue; for Cook's previous visit and the name 'Savage' see II, pp. 433–9. At 10 p.m. 'Mr Gore saw land, but what he saw was judged a deception made by the moon's shadow, for we did not imagine ourselves so near.'—King. Later the *Discovery* made the signal for seeing land.

[5] Cook was now coming into the Tongan islands a little south of his track from the east in June 1774, which he crossed just south of these islands, the Otu Tolu group. Anamocka is of course Nomuka.

[103] [6] Kelefesia, the southernmost island of the Nomuka group. [7] Mango.

off in Canoes from different islands, bringing with them two pigs and 439
a quantity of fruit and roots all of[1] which they exchanged for Hatchets,
Nails, beads &c^{a}. About 8 or 9 oClock M^{r} King returned with seven 648
hogs and a quan[t]ity of Fruit and roots; there came with him the 431
chief of the island named *Tooboulangee*[2] and another whose name was
Tapah,[3] they brought me a present of a hog with a promise of more 634
the next day. As soon as the boats were aboard I stood for Anamocka,
and as the wind was scant, I intended to go between Anamocka ete[4] 122
and the breakers to the SE of it, but on drawing near we met with very [133]
erregular Sound^{gs} varying every cast 10 or 12 fathoms, so that I was
obliged to give up the design and go to the Southward of all; this
carried us to leeward and obliged us to spend [the] night under sail.
It was very dark and we had the Wind from every direction, accompanied
with heavy Showers of rain, so that at day-light the next
morning we found our selves much farther off than we were the evening Wed. 30
before and the little wind we had was right in our teeth. We
continued to ply all day to very little purpose and in the evening anchored
in 39 f^{ms} Water the bottom Coral rocks and broken shells—
the west point of Anamocka bearing ENE four miles distant. Toobowlangee 439
and Tapah kept their promise and brought me off some hogs,
and I got by exchanges from different people several others and as [431]
much fruit as we could dispence with.[5] It was remarkable that during
the whole day, the Indians would hardly part with any one thing to
any body but me, Captain Clerke did not get above one or two hogs.
Knowing from experience, that if every body was allowed to traffick
with the natives according to thier own caprice, perpetual quarrels
would essue, to prevent this I ordered that particular person[s]
should manage the traffick both on board and ashore, and prohibited
the trade to all others. I also ordered that no curiosities should be
purchased till the Ships were supplyed with Provisions and leave
give[n] for that purpose.

At 4 AM hoisted out a boat and sent the Master to Sound the MAY
sw side of Anamocka where there appeared to be a harbour, formed Thurs. 1

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[1] *two pigs . . . all of*: Adm 55/111 *two Hogs, or Pigs, some Plantains yams, Breadfruit & Cocoanuts.*

[2] Tupoulangi.

[3] Tepa possibly, but probably Kepa would be the better form: Anderson 'Taipa or Kaipa', Burney Kaper, Edgar Kapee. It looks as if he was a *matapule*—not a chief, but what we might call an administrative official, of some importance. [565]

[4] Nomuka Iki ('little Nomuka'), the little island about a mile south-west of Nomuka.

[5] 'The Natives soon gave us a specimen of their happy genius in the art of pilfering, by stealing a hatchet out of the galley, for which, Rich^{d} Young a quiet and good man was punished with twelve lashes.'—Williamson, 30 April. But he was probably inattentive, as well as quiet and good. He was cook's mate. Charlton records the punishment as 6 lashes, for neglect of duty and is probably more reliable.

Tues. 6 634 648 [203] [576] On the 6th we were Visited by a great Chief of Tongatabu, whose name was *Feenough*, and whom Tapah was pleased to interduce to us as King of all the friendly isles.[1] I was told that on my arrival a Canoe was despatched to that island with the news, which brought this Chief here. The Officer on shore told me, that when he first appeared all the natives were ordered out to meet him and paid their obeisance by bowing their heads to his feet, so that there was no room to suspect him being any thing less than the King.

[431] In the after noon I went to pay this great man a visit, having first received a present of two fish from him sent me by one of his servants. As soon as I landed he came up to me and when the first salutation was over, I asked if he was the King, for seeing he was not the man I had seen before[2] I rather suspected it. Tapah answer'd for him, and enumerated one hundred and fi[f]ty three islands of which he said [431] Feenough was the King.[3] He and five or six of his attendants accompaned me on board where I made them all presents and entertained them in such a manner as I thought would be most agreeable, and in the evening attended them a shore in my boat, in to which the cheif ordered three hogs as a return for the presents I had made him. I was now informed of a circumstance which happened a shore which will convey some idea of the authority the chiefs have over the common people. 565 609 While Feenough was on board an inferior Chief, or one of some authority, ordered all the natives from the post ashore, but for what reason we did not know; some ventured to return on which he took up a large Stick and beat them most unmercifully, one man he struck over the side of the face so that the blood gushed out of both mouth and nostrils and he lay for some time motionless and was at last carried off in convulsions; on his being told he had killed the man he only laughed at it and evidently was not sorry for what he had done. We heard afterwards that the man recovered.

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[1] Kepa was perhaps 'building up his own personality' in thus introducing the chief. It was Finau Ulukalala Feletoa, great-grandson of a former Tu'i Kanokupolu, Mataeleha'amea, who had given his grandfather land on Vava'u. Finau was a formidable chief, but not king.—'. . . Finow, a tall handsome man, appeared to be about 25 years of age; had much fire and vivacity with a degree of wildness in his countenance that well tallied with our idea of an Indian Warrior. add to this, he was one of the most active men I have ever seen.'—Burney journal.—'. . . he is a man of above 35 Years of Age, above the middle size & Slenderer than the Commonality; he has the manners of a man who knows his Consequence, but a Contraction in the Muscles of the Neck & lips gave him the Appearance of affectation; we admir'd his great Activity & lively spirits & he was very useful in betting back what was stolen, & procuring us provisions, altho he sometimes says that he gas little here, he can Command. . . .'—King.

[644] [2] i.e. the man of 'Sullen gravity' whom on the second voyage he had concluded to be king, the male *Tamaha* called Latunipulu.—II, pp. 256–8.

[3] The number 153 arouses one's curiosity, and one's admiration for Cook, if he counted them. It is a rather generous estimate of Finau's sovereignty, and must surely bring in all the sandbanks and reefs of all Tonga, as well as the islands and islets.

54: Cook G,T-5 (1777) 1967 OU9 Tonga OU9

THURSDAY 15*th*. At day break the next morning steered to the East for the passage between Fodua and Callefango,[1] with a small breeze at S and SSE. About 10 o'clock Feenough came on board and remained with us all day, he brought with him two hogs & a quantity of fruit, the last was very exceptable as our stock was nearly expended. At Noon the latitude was 19°49′45″ S and we had made 7 M. of longitude from Anamocka; Amattafoa, or Otafoa[2] bore N 88° W, Aghao N 71° W, Fodua N 89° W and Afeva[3] S 12° West. After passing Fodua we met with a reef of rocks which, as we had but little Wind, gave us some trouble to keep clear of them, they lay between Fodua and Anneniva,[4] a small low isle which lies 7 or 8 miles from Fodua in the direction of ENE. Fodua is a small island of middling height and bounded all round by a steep rock; it lays S 67° E distant 6 leagues from Aghao, and 3 from Ogodoo in the direction N 33° E. Being past the rocks just mentioned we hauled up for Anneneva in hopes of finding anchorage, we were again desapointed and obliged to spend the night making short boards, for although we had land in every direction the Sea was unfathomable.

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FRIDAY 16*th*. At Day break in the morning of the 16th with a gentle breeze at SE steered NE for Happi which was now in sight. The Wind Scanting upon us we could not fitch, so that we had to ply to windward in doing of this we once passed over some Coral rocks on which had 6 fathom water,[5] the moment we were over them had no ground with 80 fathom of line; at this time the isles of Happi bore from N 50° E to S 9° W. We got up with the no[r]thermost of these isles by Sunset and there found our selves in the very same situation as we were the two preceding evenings, so that we had another neight to

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[1] Fotuha'a, a flat-topped island, with a coast-line of cliffs, about 9 miles WNW of Kotu; and *Lofanga*, about the same distance east of Fotuha'a. The passage is clear, except close to *Lofanga*.

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[2] *Amattafoa, or Otafoa*: Cook, one imagines under the instruction of Anderson, is getting closer to the proper name of the island, [O] Tofua. Cf. *Voyage*, I, p. 237, n., where Douglas remarks on 'the great difficulty of knowing accurately the exact names of the South Sea Islands, as procured from the natives', and compares Cook, Anderson and Tasman.—'Captain Cook's Amattafoa, is, with Mr. Anderson, *Tofoa*. . . . Mr. Anderson's great attention to matters of this sort being, as we learn from Captain King, well known to every body on board, and admitted always by Captain Cook himself, his mode of spelling has been adopted on the engraved chart of the Friendly Islands; which has made it necessary to adopt it also, in printing the journal.' This is an enlargement of brief notes by Douglas in the MS, f. 127v; and there are other notes on names, based on Anderson. Bligh AL has a cantankerous and partly illegible comment on Douglas's note: 'C. King knew nothing about the Names of the Islands, & Mr Anderson clev[er as] he was could only get them as the ship sailed past, or those he could see at Anchor, . . . of which from one Native's information is obvious, & his names are in gen[eral] very erroneous . . .'.

[3] Ha'afeva, 4½ miles to the east of Kotu, the principal island of the group.

[4] Douglas: 'according to Mr Anderson Neeneeva'; Niniva, within a large expanse of reef.

[5] This must have been the coral Balfour Patch.

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 105]

[1777]

634 lear[n]t by Omai, was that all the people both young and old were to
look upon me as a friend who was come to remain with them a few
648 days, that they were not to steal or molest me in any thing, that they
565 were to bring hogs, fowls, fruit &c^{a} to the ships where they would
537 receive in exchange such and such things. Soon after Tapah had
done haranguing the people, Fenough left us and Tapah gave me to
understand it necessary I should make a present to the Chief of the
island whose name was *Earoupa*,[1] I was not unprepared and made him
a present that far exceeded his expectation, this brought upon me
two Cheifs of other isles and lastly Tapah himself. When Feenough
returned which was immidiately after I had made the last present,
he pretended to be angry with Tapah for suffering me to give away
so much, but I looked upon this to be all a feness. The Cheif again
took his seat and ordered Earoupa to set by him and to harangue the
people as Tapah had done, the subject was chiefly dictated by Fee-
634 nough and was to the same effect as the other. These Ceremonies
being over, the Cheif at my request conducted me to three standing
648 pools of fresh water as he was pleased to call it, in one indeed the
[312] water was tolerable and not inconvenient to come at.[2] After Viewing
the Water we returned to our former station, where I found a baked
[431] hog and some yams all piping hot put up for me to take on board. I
invited the chief and his friend to pertake of it they excepted my in-
vitation and we all imbarked for the Ship, but none but the chief sat
[431] down to table. After dinner I conducted them ashore and before I
came on board the Chief gave me a fine large Turtle and a quantity
[439] of yams, and we got by barter along side the Ship about twenty small
hogs besides fruit and roots. I was told that soon after we went ashore
609 in the Morning, a man came off and ordered every one of the Natives
a shore, probably it was to be present at the ceremony for that was
796 no sooner over than they returned.

634 SUNDAY 18*th*. Early in the Morning Omai, who generally slept
ashore, and Feenough came on board. After some time I accompaned
648 them ashore and was conducted to the same place as I was at the day
before, where a large concourse of people were assembled, I guess'd
some thing or another was going to be done but could not till what
[431] nor could Omai inform me. I had not sit long before near a hundred
[651] people came laden with Yams, Bread fruit, Plantain Cocoanuts and

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[1] Tongans cannot explain this name, or give an equivalent: possibly Ahupe or Tealupe. Tealupe was the *matapule* of Uiha, close to Lifuka.

[2] There is still a well at Koulo, once merely a deep pond about four feet across, now with a concrete wall around it and a cover on top; its water is regarded as very good, at least for washing. This could very well have been the 'standing pool' Cook refers to, as Koulo would have been an easy stroll from the northern end of the bay.

Sugar Cane which were laid in two heaps or piles on our left, being 634
the side they came from. Soon after came a number of others from 648
the right, laden with the same kind of articles which were laid in two
piles on our right; to these were tied two Pigs and six Fowls, and to 431
those on the left six Pigs and two turtle. Earoupa sat before the 651
several arti[c]les on the left and a nother Chief before those on the
right they being, as I judged, the two Chiefs who had collected them
and being a kind of Tax Feenough had laid upon them for the
present occasion. As soon as every thing was laid in order and to 648
shew to the most advantage, those who had brought in the things
joined the Multitude who formed a large circle round the whole. 541
Presently after a number of men entered the Circle or Area before us, 526
armed with Clubs made of the green branches of the Cocoanut tree, these paraded about for a few minutes and then retired the one half to one side and the other half to the other, and seated themselves before the spectators: but soon after went to single Combat, one or two steping forward from the one side and challenging those on the other which was done more by actions than words; if the Challenge was excepted, which was generally the case, each put himself in a proper atitude and began to engage and continued till one or the other gave out or their weapons were broke. When the contest was over, the Victor squated himself down facing the cheif then rose up and retired, at the same time some old men, who seemed to sit as judges, gave their plaudit in a few words and the multitude, especially those on the side to which the victor belonged, celebrated it in two or three huzzas. This entertainment was now and then suspended for a few minutes, at these intervals there were Wristling and Boxing matches; the first were performed in the same m[an]ner as at Otahiete,[1] and the second very little different from the method practiced in England.[2] But what struck us with the most surprise was to

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[1] 'they wrestle much like our Cornish men, and are very expert and active at it. when any one was thrown, the Victor was complimented with the following short song, in a kind of recitative, "Tooway-Hey-O Mar to yoe" the meaning of which I am ignorant. the first word (Tooway) was sung out by a single person, dwelling on the last syllable, and the rest in full chorus by the men on that side of the ring to which he belonged. in wrestling with them our people were almost constantly worsted.'—Burney, 17 May; and see p. 1027 n.

[2] No one else agreed with Cook over this point.—'their boxing being different from the English method which is generally looked upon as the standard, induced some of our Men to enter the ring against them, thinking to retrieve the credit lost at wrestling: but in this they were so much mistaken that of 4 or 5 who tried, not one escaped being knockd down; and as they did not take the drubbing with the moderation and good temper before remarked in the Natives, were heartily laughed at; for our Men contrary to the established custom, always demanded a renewal of the conflict which, by the bye, was never suffered though both parties were willing.'—Burney, 17 May. Add to this Anderson, 18 June: 'Some of our people ventur'd to contend with them in both excercises but were always worsted except in a few cases where it appear'd that the fear they were in of offending us gain'd a greater share of the victory than the superiority of the person who engag'd.' On

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648 see a couple of lusty wenches step forth and without the least ceremony
fall to boxing, and with a[s] much art as the men. The contest
541 did not last above half a minute before one gave it up; the Victor
526 received the aplause of the spectors in the same manner as the men.
We expressed some dislike at this part of the entertainment[1] this however
did not prevent two others from entering the list, who seemed to be
girls of spirit and would certainly have given each other a good drubing
had not two old Women got up and parted them. These several
contests were carried on in the midst of at least three thousand people
and with the greatest good humour on all sides, though some, Women as
well as men must have received blows they must feel some time after.[2]

648 As soon as these deversions were over, the Chief told me, that the
fruit &cª on our right was for Omai and what lay on the left which
431 was about two thirds of the whole, was for me; he told me I might
take it on board whenever it was convenient, nor was it necessary to
leave any body to look after it for not so much as a single Cocoanut
would be taken away, and so it proved for I left every thing behind
and returned on board to dinner carrying the chief along with me,
and yet when I came to send for them on board nothing was missing.
There was as much as loaded four boats and far exceeded any present
I had ever before received from an Indian Prince. I took the oppertunity
of his being on board to make him a return so much to his satisfaction,
that as soon as he went a shore he made me a nother present
consisting of 2 large hogs a large quantity of cloth and some yams.[3]

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[648] [541] which we have a later comment. 'The remark is a tolerable just one', says Mariner (II, p. 213, n.). 'The natives themselves mentioned the circumstance to Mr Mariner, stating that they allowed the Papalangies to get the victory sometimes, because they did not like to beat the poor fellows so much.'

[526] [1] '. . . several Women enterd the Ring and began a boxing, two very fine Young Girls advanced to engage, one of our Gentlemen perhaps smitten got up and interfered, which produced Loud Shouts of Applause as well as much mirth among the Spectators.'—Edgar, 18 May.

[2] 'the diversions and exercises of these people were conducted with a degree of temper truly commendable, and which few are capable of; the conquerors not shewing any signs of exultation, nor the beaten party appearing in the least abashed. on the contrary, he returns to his Seat with as much unaffected chearfulness as when he entered the lists. it is not in the power of every man who suffers the disgrace of being worsted, to avoid feeling some degree of malevolence towards his antagonist. when any man advances and gives a general challenge, if another enters the lists whom he thinks too hard for him, or whom he does not chuse to encounter, he returns to his seat without being laughed at for his defection. during the whole of these exercises, the most perfect order was preserved. when engaged they used their utmost skill and strength: but if any thing like ill blood appeared between the combatants, the friends of either party interposed and seperated them immediately.'—Burney, 17 May.—'During these exhibitions the most perfect order was observ'd, owing as we afterwards found to the unlimited power of the Cheifs who wou'd order a Man to parade round the Ring & knock down indiscriminately Men Women or Children who Stood up or in the least disorder'd the Ring.'—Edgar, 18 May.

[3] 'at Noon the Indians returnd two Catts they had Stolen from us.'—Edgar, 18 May. Kepa's son had been detected stealing a cat, for which he was put in irons. Clerke was in great anguish about these cats: see pp. 1310–11 below.

part Sand but not without some Coral rock. This place is much 122
better sheltered than where we last lay, but between the two is a 133
place much better than either.[1]

Lefooga and Ooleva are divided from each other by a reef of Coral 133
rock which dryes at low water so that one may walk from the one to
the other without weting a foot. This last island is as barren as the 137
other is fertile, producing nothing but a few scurvy trees and shrubs
and wholy without Inhabitants.[2] 361

TUESDAY *27th.* At day break the next Morning I made the Signal to 122
wiegh, and as I intended to attempt a passage to Anamocka by the
SW in amongst the islands, I sent the Master away in a boat to
Sound before the Ships. But before we could get under sail, the wind
became unsettled and made it unsafe to attempt a passage this way
till we were better acquainted with it or had a steady wind. I therefore
lay fast and made the sign' for the Master to return, and afterwards
sent him and the Master of the Discovery, each in a boat to
examine the Channels as far as they could allowing time to return
on board before dark. The wind was unsettled all day and blew in
squals with some Showers of rain. About Noon a large sailing Canoe 648
came under our Stern in which the Indians on board told us was
Fattafee Polaho King of all the Isles;[3] we had reason to doubt this, but 643
they stood to it and now for the first time told us that Feenough was [634]
not the King. As it was my intrest as well as inclination to pay my
Court to all these great men, without enquiring into the legality of
their titles, I sent a boat to bring him on board as I understood he
wanted to come. He brought with him as a present to me two good [431]
fat hogs, though not so fat as himself, for he was the most corperate
plump fellow we had met with. I found him to be a Sedate sensible
man, he viewed the Ship and the several new objects with uncommon
attention, and asked several pertinent questions one of
which was 'what brought us to these islands'.[4] After he had satisfied [614]

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[1] The anchorage, one takes it, off Pangai, the little township of Lifuka, on the shores of a distinct bay (see Chart XLVI). But though the anchorage is good, Cook would have found an embarrassing number of reefs and shoals interposing.

[2] 'Olaiva although as large an island as Laifooga, is intirely uncultivated & almost un- [311]
inhabited, only a few fishermen live in it. it seems a sandy poor soil in general, but we saw
that formerly it had not been intirely neglected, there being appearances of former [131]
cultivation, we understood that from terrible Lightning all the possessions of the inhabitants
were destroy'd, some kill'd, & the state of the remains of part of the coconut trees we
saw, was occasion'd by that lightning; since which no one had chose to make plantations.'
—King, 27 May.

[3] Fatafehi Paulaho, 36th Tu'i Tonga, c. 1770–84. Fatafehi was a 'family name' of the Tu'i [551]
Tonga—not a 'surname', but one much used among the members of his chiefly family.

[4] 'he now ask'd our business there, where we came from, & where we were going, questions which had never been put to us before; to satisfy him, a map was produced & explaind to him, & by his explaining it again to his followers, he shew'd that he was

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648 his curiosity in looking at the Cattle &c^a on deck, I asked him down
643 into the Cabbin, some of his attendants objected to this, saying if he
644 went there people would walk over his head and this was never done.[1]
I desired Omai to till them I would remove that objection by giving
orders that no one should walk on that part of the deck which was
over the Cabbin, but this probably would not have done if the cheif
had not waved the ceremony and walked down with me without any
648 more to do. Both he and his attendants took some pains to convince
643 us he was King and not Feenough, for he soon perceived we had
634 some doubts about it, and particularly Omai who was a good deal
chagrined at finding there was a greater man than his friend Feenough,
648 or Omai as he was now called for they had from the first
643 chang'd names.[2] The Chief sat down with us to dinner, he eat but
little and drank less. After dinner he asked Omai and me to accompany
him ashore, Omai excused himself but I attended upon him in
my own boat, having first presented him with such things as I knew
would secure his friendship and what he most Valued and but little
[431] expected. As soon as we landed and before he went out of the boat
he ordered two hogs to be brought and put into her; he was then
[482] carried a shore by some of his own people on a board like unto a
[493] hand barrow, and went and seated himself in a small neat house near
[342] the shore, which seemed to have been built for to accomodate travelling
Chiefs. He desired me to sit by him, his attendance, which were
(644) not numerous, seated themselves in a semicircle before us without the
house; an old woman sat behind or rather on one side the Cheif with
a fan in her hand to fan away the flies that came near him. The
several articles his people had got by truck aboard the Ships were
now displayed before him, he looked over them all and enquired
what they had given in exchange and seemed pleased with the bargins
they had made. At length he ordered every thing to be returned
except a glass bowl which he kept to himself. The persons who
brought these things to him first squated themselves down before him,
then laid down the things and rose up and retired, the same order

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(648) capable of receiving & comprehending subjects which we had considered above their faculties in their present state. . . .'—King, 28 May.

(643) [1] Because of the quite supreme sacredness of the king's head, above all other heads. Any chief's head or father's head was of course *tapu*.

[2] 'Omai all this time was out of all temper with Poulohow, & want'd to perswade us, that he told lies in saying he was a greater man than his friend, it shoud be observ'd that these two had exchang'd names, it was therefore impossible Omai cou'd consent to be so degraded, & he examin'd the fat King very closely, he own'd that a woman a relation of his, call'd Chunēē Takulla living at Va-vōō was the head of all the Islands & to whom he bow'd; there was such an air of Openess & of good sence (as far as we could understand) that we all readily acquiest in his pretensions, in spight of Omai's endeavours to the contrary, who would not accompany the King & the Capt^n on shore.'—King, 28 May.

of Captain Furneaux.[1] They brought each of them a hog and some 648
yams as a testimony of their friendship and I was not wanting on my 643
part in making them a sutable return.

At length about 2 PM we arrived at our intended Station, being a [431]
very snug place formed by the shore of Tongatabu on the SE and two 122
small islands on the East and NE: here we anchored in 10 fathom
Water over a bottom of owsey sand, distant from the shore one third
of a mile.[2] Soon after we had Anchored, I landed accompaned by 648
Omai and some of the Officers, we found the King waiting for us on
the beach, ready to conduct us to a small neat house, situated a little [643]
within the skirts of the woods with a fine large area before it; this [342]
house the Cheif told me was at my service during my stay and a
better situation we could not wish for. We had not been long in the
house before a pretty large circle of people were assembled before us
and seated on the Area. A root of the Cava plant was brought and [276]
laid down before the King, he ordered it to be split into pieces and
given to several people, men and women, to chew and a bowl of [574]
liquer was presently prepared. In the mean time a baked hog and
two baskets of baked yams were brought and afterwards divided into [264]
ten portions, each of these portions were given to certain people
present but how many each was intend[ed] for I could not tell, one
was sent to the Kings brother and one remained which I judged was
for himself as it was a choise bit. The liquor was next served out, but 648
the King seemed to give no directions about it;[3] the first cup was
brought to him, he ordered it to be give[n] to one who sat near him, 643
the second was brought him which he kept, the third was brought 276
me, I gave it to Omai for their manner of brewing had quenched my 574
thirst;[4] the rest was served out to different people by direction of the

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[1] We have no prior record of this friendship: the Tupou's are becoming rather confusing. Tupoulahi was the name of the last Tu'i Kanokupolu, and as Gifford writes (*Tongan Society*, p. 88), 'The frequent use of the name Tupou for the Tui Kanokupolu's relatives makes identification as difficult as with the Tui Tonga's relatives with whom the name Fatafehi was equally common'.

[2] The anchorage was in the harbour of Nuku'alofa, the present capital town of Tonga. Cook's description points to a spot in its eastern bight, almost two miles east of the existing pier. The 'shore of Tongatabu on the SE' was the arm of land, the northern side of the lagoon, which ends in the point called Holeva ('Observatory Point' on the engraved chart)—no doubt the 'uncultivated point' mentioned as 'our station', pp. 134–5 below—and the detached island Nukunuku. The small island to the east was 'Oneata, though it is not the only islet in that direction; that to the north-east was Pangaimotu ('Pangymaudoo' in Cook's paragraph below). This position is still recommended as the best for shelter and holding ground in the summer months, which is also the hurricane season; so the Tongans who directed Cook knew what they were doing, even though the month was June.

[3] Because he did not need to—except as Cook goes on to note his first direction as to a recipient—the ceremony being so much one of settled ritual. How strict the ritual was, at a formal kava-ceremony, and all its details, may be found from a study of the long description in Mariner, II, pp. 150–67.

[4] But, as Mariner points out, the Tongans were an exceedingly clean race, and only [123]

sails a shore to repair and a party cuting wood for fuel and Plank for 122
the use of the Ship. The gunners of both Ships were ordered a shore to traffick with the natives, who thronged from all parts with Hogs, 439
yams, & cocoanuts &c^{a} so that our little post was like a fair and the Ships so thronged that we had hardly room to stir on the decks.

Feenough had taken up his residence near us, but he was no longer 648
the acting man, we however found him to be a man of consequence
and property and still continued to make us presents of Hogs &c^{a}. 634
As to the King scarce a day pa[s]t that had not some thing considerable from him. 431
We heard of other great men which we had not
yet seen particularly one *Mariwaggy*,[1] who we understood was Fattafee 648
Polaho's Father and the first man on the island, but that he was an 643
old man and would not visit us; some even hinted, that he was too great a man to be seen by us, at least so Omai interpreted it.[2] [431]
The account they gave of this Chief made me very desirious of seeing him and I at last prevailed on Fattafee the King to accompany me the
next Morning to the place of his residence. Thur. 12
Accordingly we set out pretty early, accompaned by Captain Clerke in his own boat, Omai and some of the officers. We proceeded round and to the Eastward of the isles that forms the harbour and then entered a large inlet up which we rowed about one league and then landed near to the residence of this great man.[3] We had no sooner landed then we were told that he was gone to the Ships. I suspected this was not true, but that he was gone out of the way in order not to be seen by us,as some had suggested. Pequed at being thus disapointed, after a short stay I returned on board, when we found Mariwaggy had not been
nor was he expected. It however afterwards appeared that Omai [124]

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[1] Maealiuaki.

[2] Maealiuaki was certainly Paulaho's 'classificatory father': the term *tamai*, father, would include all paternal male affines. He was indeed a very great man, and in a secular sense certainly the 'first man on the island', and indeed in all Tonga; for having been Tu'i Ha'a Takalaua (the fourteenth and last of the succession), hence deriving great prestige and privilege, he became Tu'i Kanokupolu (the eighth of that line)—and it was the Tu'i Kanokupolu who was the effective principal ruler of the group. Cf. II, p. lxxv. A venerable figure, 'grey with age', as Cook notes below, he was to die later in this year 1777.

[3] The place of this landing is traditionally remembered. Cook had to take the same circuitous route anyone must take nowadays from the Nuku'alofa jetty—round the islands [487]
and into the lagoon through an extraordinary mass of coral reefs. The lagoon forms two arms. Just off the present road, which runs close to the lagoon, a little south-west of the large village of Mu'a, is a very little cove, part of a larger wide cove at the bottom of the eastern arm of Mu'a inlet; and here, it is said, Cook stepped sahore. He could hardly do
so now. Mangroves have crept all round and the shore is very muddy; trees hang over the [137]
water and the coral of the bank has fallen away in large pieces; a few yards from the water
a huge banyan (*Ficus obliqua*) marks the scene. [133]
The place is called Alaki, though the village of Alaki has been moved a mile or so to the south. It is possible, however, that tradition is
mistaken in being quite so precise, because the text (p. 138 below) refers to the village as [361]
'Moa' or Mu'a; ancient Mu'a, however, was very near, and it is even possible that Alaki village did not then exist.

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 127]

54: Cook G,T-5 (1777) 1967 OU9 Tonga OU9

[1777]

648 two cheifs of note was unexpected, and I had only taken with me a
present for one, which I was now under a necessity to divide; it
643 happened to be pretty considerable and both seemed highly satisfied.
644 Before I took leave the piece of Cloth was rolled up and with a few
Sat. 14 Cocoanuts given to me. The next Morning Old Toobough returned
[431] my visit on board the Ship, he also visited Captain Clerke and if the
present we made him the evening before was scanty it was now made
up to him. During this time Mariwaggy visited our people ashore and
648 Mr King shewed him every thing we had there; the Cattle he viewed
643 with great admiration, and the cross cut saw fixed his attention for
some time.[1] Towards Noon the King returned from where we had left
[644] him the day before, and with him his son a youth about 12 years of
age.[2] I had his company to dinner, his son was present but was not
allowed to sit at table. I seldom failed of having his Company every
[644] day so long as we stayed: it was very convenient, for when he was
[634] there every one else was not only excluded the table but few would
remain in the Cabbin, whereas if he nor Feenough was not there,
the inferior chiefs would be very importunate to be admitted at
table or into the Cabbin at that time, so that without one of them I
could never sit down to a dinner with any satisfaction. The King was
very soon reconciled to our way of Cooking, but I beleive he dined
with me more for the sake of the drink than the Victuals, for he
loved a glass of Wine and could drink his bottle as well as most men
and was as cheerfull over it.

SUNDAY 15*th*. In the morning of the 15th I received a message from
old Toobough that he wanted to see me a shore accordingly Omai
[431] and I went to wait upon him. We found him like an ancient Patri-
arch seated under the shade of a tree with a large piece of the country
cloth spread out at full length before him, and a number of respect-
able looking people siting round it, he desired us to sit down by him
and then told Omai that the Cloth, together with a piece of red
feathers and about a dozen Cocoa-nuts was for me, I thanked him
for the favour and desired he would go on board with me as I had
[644] nothing a shore to give him in return. Omai now left me being sent

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[1] '... in the morning Marra-waggee came to the Observatory, & after shewing him what was there to be seen, he desir'd me to go with him to see the cattle, & our men cutting & sawing Plank; the cross cut saw attract'd his notice, & the surprise & pleasure he shew'd, at seeing the cattle were proofs of his sense, after shewing him all that was new to him, he led me to his temporary hut, where were two old women & a charming little girl, of whom the old man was very fond.'—King.

[2] The name of this boy was Fatafehi Fuanunuiava. He was to succeed not his father, but his uncle, as Tu'i Tonga, in 1806, and to die in 1810. Cook evidently did not learn, and certainly never gives, his full name: he is referred to below as 'young Fattafee', or 'the young Prince'. He never played any real part in Tongan politics.

for by Polaho and soon after Feenough came and acquainted me that 648
young Fattafee, Polaho's son, wanted me. I left Toobough and went
with him, And found the Prince and Omai seting under a large 643
Canopy of the finer sort of cloth with a piece of the Coarser sort 644
spread under them, that was 76 yards long and 7½ broad. On one
side was a large old Boar and on the other a heap of Cocoa-nuts; a 648
number of people were seated round the cloth, amongst them Mari- 643
waggy and others of the first rank. I was desired to set down by the 644
Prince and then Omai informed me that he was desired by the King 431
to tell me that as he and I were friends he hoped his son might be
joined in that friendship, and that as a token I would except of his
present. I very readily agreed to the proposal and as it was now
dinner time I invited them all on board to dinner, viz. the young 648
Prince, Mariwaggy, Old Toobough and Feenough; they were accom- 643
panied by three or four inferior chiefs and two respectable old Ladies 644
of the first rank. Mariwaggy was dressed in a new peice of cloth, on
the skirts of which was fixed six pretty large patches of red feathers: [634]
this dress seemed to have been made for this visit, for as soon as he [292]
got on board he put it of and presented it to me to whom it was [297]
valuable on account of the feathers. I made all my visiters such pre-
sents as I had reson to think they were highly pleased with. When [431]
dinner came on table not one of my guests would sit down or eat a
bit of any thing that was there. Every one was *Tabu*, a word of a very [262]
comprehensive meaning but in general signifies forbidden. After [784]
dinner, and they had seen all over the Ship, I conducted them a
shore, as soon as the boat land[ed] Feenough and some others in-
stantly steped out, young Fattafee was following them but was called
back by Marriwaggy, and he Old Toobough and one of the old
Ladies paid the young Prince the same obeisance and in the same
manner as is paid to the King; this done he was suffered to go and
the old people steped into a Canoe that was waiting to carry them to
their place of aboad. This Mariwaggy and Old Toobough were
Brothers they were both men of great property in the island and 643
seemed to be in high favour with the people; the former was Father 644
to Feenough, & Toobougheitoa and Father in Law to the King, he
having married one of his Daughters by whom he had this Son—
consequently Mariwaggy was the Prince's grandfather.[1] On my 648

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[1] The relationships as stated here need some modification, owing to the ambiguity of the Tongan words used to explain them. Maealiuaki and 'old Toobough' were full brothers, 643 on the assumption that the latter was Tupou'ila, both sons of Ma'afuotu'itonga, 6th Tu'i Kanokupolu, and the same mother. Maealiuaki was 'classificatory father', *tamai* (cf. p. 125, n. 2 above), to both Finau, son of Tu'itu'iohu, a chief in Vava'u, and Tupouto'a his half-brother. Maealiuaki's daughter Kongakava was Paulaho's wife, but an 'additional

The 17th was the day fixed upon for Mariwaggy to give a grand Tues. 17
Haiva or entertainment to which we were all invited. The 541
dancing and Singing began about 11 o'clock and continued till three
or four, there were two sets of above a hundred men and youths in 648
each, of the first rank in the island. On each side of the Area where 533
this was performed was a pile or heap of Sticks and yams, decorated 535
with different sorts of small fish, these were Marriwaggies present to
Captain Clerke and me. The yams were brought in in the Morning, 648
two at a time, one at each end of a stick or pole about six feet long, 431
these with the yams were piled up so as to appear to the most advantage and made about three fourths of the whole so that it was ha[r]d [482]
to say whether the wood for fuel or the yams to eat were of the most Value to us. As to the fish it might serve to please the sight but was very offensive to the Smell, as some of it had been kept two or three days for this occasion.

The Evening was ushered in with singing and dancing the Circu- 648
lar dance in which both men and women performed. Feenough on 533
this occasion appeared compleatly dressed in English Cloth, with not
less than ten or a dozen strings of beads about his neck and was a 535
principal actor in this entertainment: even Mariwaggy himself at one [634]
time beat on the drum. These drums were such as I have before men- [292]
tioned that is hollowed logs of Wood and Bamboos of different [30F]
lengths. The Musicians to the dance are in front and [643]
round them are seated in a long oval form a number of men who
keep singing and claping their hands during the whole of the per- [534]
formance, the same is done in the circular dances, with this differ-
ence that they sit in a circle and round them the dancers form a 535
nother, but this is done so insencibly that it is some time before it is [533]
compleat and very often not till the end of the dance. These dances vary perhaps much more than we were able to discover, however there appeared a sort of sameness throughout the whole, and so would, I apprehend the most of our Country dances to people as unacquainted with them as we were with theirs. The drawings which Mr Webber has made of these performances will give a very good idea of the order in which they range themselves but neither pen nor pencil can discribe the numerous actions and motions they observe, which as I have before observed are easy and gracefull and many of them
extreemly so. The whole of this entertainment was conducted with 541
far better order than could be expected in so large assembly, for at
this time there were not less than ten or twelve thousand people in 571
our neighbourhood, that is within the Compass of a quarter of a mile.
Amongst such a Multitude there must be a number of ill disposed [685]

upon an uncul[t]ivated point, so that there were no people who 485
properly lived within half a mile of us, but even at this distance, amongst such a Multitude of strangers, one might have expected their houses to have been much Crouded; it was quite otherwise, they lived as retired as if there had not been a man in the neighbourhood; all the Strangers lived in little temporary sheds and under trees and bushes; the only thing that seemed to suffer was the Cocoa-nut trees, which were striped of their branches to make sheds for the cheifs. In 764
this walk we met with about half a dozen Women in one place at
supper, two of the Company were fed by the others, on our asking 264
the reason, they said Tabu Mattee.[1] On further enquiry, found that 784
one of them had, two months before, washed the dead corps of a Chief, on which account she was not to handle any Victuals for five Months, the other had done the same thing to a nother of inferior rank, and was under the same restriction but not for so long a time. At a nother place hard by we saw a nother Women fed, she had assisted in washing the Corps of the above mentioned Chief.

SATURDAY 21*st.* Early the next Morning the King came on board to 648
invite me to an entertainment he proposed to give the same day. He 643
had already been under the barbers hands, his head being all besmeared with red pigment[2] in order to reden his hair which was [302]
naturally of a dark brown. After breakfast I attended him a shore and
found his people very busy in two places in the front of our area, 431
fixing in an upright and square position $\begin{pmatrix}\circ & \circ\\ \circ & \circ\end{pmatrix}$ four very long posts, 648
near two feet from each other. The space between the post[s] were 643
afterwards filled up with yams, and as they went on seized[3] sticks a 417
cross from post to post at the distance of about every four feet to prevent the posts from seperating by the weight of the yams. When they got to the top of these post[s] they fastened others to them and so continued till each pile was the height of 30 feet or upwards. On the Top of one they placed two baked hogs, on the top of the other a living one and a nother they tied by the legs about half way up. It was extraordinary to see with what facility and despatch they raised these two piles, had our seamen be[en] ordered to do such a thing, they would have swore it could not be done without Carpenters and the Carpenters, not without a dozen different sorts of tools, and the expence of at least a hundred weight of nails and after all it would

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[1] *tapu mats.*

[2] Probably some local ochre, as Cook uses the word 'smeared'. Powdered turmeric was often used, but does not seem to fit in to this description.

[3] A nautical use of the word, here merely meaning bound. Normally a rope would be seized to another rope or to something else, by binding the two parallel together.

431 have imployed them as many days as it did these people hours: but
seamen like most other amphibious animals are always the most help-
648 less on land. But to proceed, after they had compleated these two
643 piles, they made several other heaps of yams & bread fruit on each
side the Area, to which were added a Turtle and a large quantity of
[417] excellent fish. All this was the Kings present to me and rather ex-
ceeded that which I had from Feenough at Happi. In the afternoon
648 we had two or three of the [1] dances, after them a man
535 with a Club in his hand danced a harlequin dance with prodigious
agility. The evening as usual, was spent in dancing and singing in
which the King joined dressed in English manufactury. In order to
643 be present the whole time, I dined a shore, the King sat down with
644 us, but neither eat nor drank. This was on account of a Woman which
he desired might dine with us, who, as we afterwards understood, was
264 of superior rank to himself; as soon as she had dined she steped up
576 to the King who put his hands to her feet and then she retired. He
immidiately diped his fingers into a glass of wine and then received
the obeisance of all her followers. This was the only time and only
648 person we ever saw him reverence.[2] At the Kings desire I ordered
some fire works to be played off, they afforded little entertainment,
177 being some of those on board the Discovery and intirely spoiled. As
no more entertainments were to be expected on either side and the
Sun. 22 Curiosity of the populace pretty well satisfied, the next day the most
685 of them left us. We still however had thieves about us, incouraged by
the negligence of our own people, they were continualy commiting
648 some theft or a-nother.

Some of the officers belonging to both Ships who had traveled into
648 the island unknown to me or indeed any body else and had been
685 absent two days returned this evening. They took with them their
Muskets with the necessary ammunition and several small articles
643 all of which the Natives found means to get from them in the Course
634 of their expedition. This affair was like to be attended with some il-
conveniency, for on their return they got Omai to complain to the

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[1] Cook has left a space here, evidently to supply with the name (presumably native) of the dance. We learn from Anderson that the first of three dances this afternoon was the paddle dance, *me'e-tu'upaki*, already seen, followed by one by women and another by two men, which was a *kailao* or dance with war-clubs.

[2] This woman, the female *Tamaha*, or 'sacred child', was the most sacred being in all Tonga. She was the eldest child of the marriage between the *Tu'i Tonga fefine*, the female Tu'i Tonga, herself extremely sacred, and one of the chiefs Tu'i Lakepa or Tu'i Ha'a Teiho, of the 'Fijian house' or *fale Fisi*. As Cook noticed, the sacred Tu'i Tonga paid the same ceremony of obeisance to her as all others did to him. Her position was such that she could have no recognized descendants. The name of this particular exalted personage was Moungalakepa; she was the daughter of the *Tu'i Tonga fefine* Sinaitakala III and Tu'i Lakepa Fehokomoelangi of Nukulau, Fiji. Latunipulu was her brother.

312 first were mostly in land and the latter by the shore of the Lagoon
and for the most part below high water mark, so that to have the
water tolerable it must be taken up at low water.

648 When we returned from our walk, which was not till the dusk of
the evening, our supper was ready, it consisted of a baked hog some
262 fish and yams all excellent well cooked after their own method. As
513 there was nothing to amuse us after supper we followed the Custom
of the Country and laid down to Sleep, our beds was a large piece of
Cloth spread on the floor. The King slept in the same house as well
521 as several others. Long before day break they rose and sat chating by
Moon light till it was day light; the conversation, as might well be
expected, turned wholy on us, the King entertaining the Company
Frid. 27 with an account of what he had seen. As soon as it was light they all
512 went away, some one way and some a nother, but it was not long
before they returned and with them several more. They now began
648 to make a bowl of Cava at which I left them to pay a Visit to Toobough
Captain Furneaux's friend, who had a house hard by, which
276 for size and neatness was exceeded by few in the place. As I had left
the others so I found here, a company preparing a Morning draught.
[431] This Chief made me a present of a living hog, a baked one, a quantity
of yams and a large piece of Cloth.

When I returned to the King I found the company drinking the
276 second bowl of Cava. When it was out the King told Omai he was
765 going to perform a Mourning ceremony for a Son which had been
dead some time and desired we would acompany him. We were
643 glad of the oppertunity expecting to see some thing new or Curious.
[292] The first thing the Chief did was to step out of the house, attended by
two Women, and put on a new sute of Cloathes, or piece of Cloth,
and over it an old ragged mat that might have served his great grand
Father on some such like occasion: his Servants or those who attended
him were all dressed in the same manner, excepting none of
[824] them having quite so ragged a Mat round them as their master.[1] Thus
equiped we marched off preceded by about eight or ten persons all
dressed in the same manner and with each a small green branch
about his neck. The King held his in his hand till we drew near the
place of rendezvouse when he tied it about his neck also. Thus we
entered a small inclosure, in which was a small neat house and one
[824] man seting before it. As they entered they pulled off the green
branch from round their necks and threw them away. After the King
was seated the others seated them selves in the usual way before him;

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[1] This was the *ta'ovala*, still worn as a sort of sash-apron; the raggedness was not for normal wear, but a sign of mourning.

54: Cook G,T-5 (1777) 1967 OU9 Tonga OU9

adorned with tufts of trees and here and there plantations, make a 133
very beautiful Landskip from whatever point they are viewed. Whilest
I was viewing these delightfull spots; I could not help flatering my 137
self with the idea that some future Navigator may from the very same
station behould these Medows stocked with Cattle, the English have
planted at these islands. Our guides informed us that all or most of 565
the land on this island belonged to the great Lords of Tongatabu and
that the Inhabitants were only tenants or rather Vassals to them; in- 423
deed it seemed to be the same at all the other isles except Anamocka,
where there were some chiefs who seemed to act with some kind of
independency.[1] Omai who was a great favourate with Feenough and 128
these people in general, was offered to be made Chief of this island
if he would stay amongst them, and it is not clear to me but Omai
would have stayed if I had approved of it, but altho I disaproved of
it, it was not because I thought he would do better in his own Native
Mon. 14 isle. The next Morning I planted a pine apple and sowed the seeds 241
of Millons &c^{a} in the Cheifs Planatation, and had a dish of Turnips to 177
dinner, being the produce of the seeds I left last Voyage.

Tues. 15 The 15th I had fixed upon for Sailing, till Taoofa press'd me to 648
stay a day or two longer to receive his present of yams &c^{a} this
and the daily expectation of seeing some of our friends from Tonga- 431
Wed. 16 tabu made me comply. Accordingly the next day I received the
Cheifs present consisting of two small heaps of yams and some fruit.
On this occasion most of the people of the island had assembled at 648
the place, and as usual gave us not a little trouble to prevent them
from pelfering whatever they could lay their hands upon. We were [526]
entertained with Cudgeling, Wristling and Boxing Matches, the
latter both by Men and Women. And in the evening we were to have
had singing and dancing, but an accident either put a total stop to it
or at least prevented any of us from staying a shore to see it. This was
a party of the Indians knocking down one of my people and striping
him of every thing he had on his back. On hearing of this I immediately seized on two Canoes and a large hog and insisted on Taoofa
causing the things to be restored and the offenders to be delivered up
to me; he seemed much concerned at what had happened and forthwith took the necessary steps to satisfy me. This affair, so alarmed the
people that most of them fled, however when they found I took no
other measures to revenge the insult they returned.[2] It was not long

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[1] This last clause is rather difficult to follow, unless Cook is referring to the pretensions of Finau—and the argument here seems to be political. The sentence generally seems to overdo the territorial power of the 'great Lords', although some of them had possessions in other islands than Tongatapu. 'Tenants' would certainly be more correct than 'vassals'.

[2] 'The natives here stript W^{m} Collett y^{e} Capt^{ns} steward naked except is shoes, as he was [126]

times the size of the largest we had yet seen. The islands almost 114
incircled us now and we tack'd standing to the NE, but at five stood
back again, soon after which two Canoes one with four & the other 193
with three men paddled towards us and came along side without the
least hesitation. They brought some Cocoa nuts, Bread fruit, plantanes 609
and sugar cane which they gave in exchange for small nails and 439
knives. One of the Indians came on board and when they left us
another Canoe came but did not stay long as night was approaching,
for the nearest island was five or six miles off which was that with
three hummocks, and sufficiently shows the hazard these people
would run to posess a few of our triffling articles. We sounded at this 114
time and had 40 fathom but soon after only 17, on which we made
the signal for the Discovery to anchor which we did about six o clock
in a bottom of coarse Coral sand with bits of shells.

TUESDAY 29. *Therm.* 75½:76½:80½:79:78:76½. The wind about N 132
except part of the forenoon when it chang'd suddenly and came from
WSW with a great deal of heavy rain. The rest of the day moderate
breezes with the weather dull or cloudy and a sultry air. About five in 609
the morning we sent two boats to the nearest island which lay in our 439
way and was that mention'd last night, that they might purchase
vegetables and meet us as we came up to it. Soon after we weigh'd
and stood towards it but made several tacks as the wind was foul, in
which time six or seven canoes came from different islands and
brought bread fruit, plantanes and yams which they exchang'd as
yesterday evening. They also brought several fowls, a great many [491]
shaddocks, and an old man who had been on board last night made
the Captain a present of a pretty large hog. Besides these they also [196]
exchang'd pieces of cloth, fish hooks, small baskets, musical reeds and
some clubs, spears and bows, as well as some large wood Pigeons,[1] [223]
small rails[2] and large violet colour'd Coots.[3] They retreated when the
rain was violent, about which time one of our boats return'd with a
considerable quantity of bread fruit, yams, plantanes and some grass
for the cattle. The other return'd soon after noon with more vegetables, some fowls and seven young hogs, so that altogether we had
procurd as much bread fruit and other Vegetables as serv'd our
people to day, which with an addition brought by several more
Canoes in the afternoon also ennabled us to spare some to the Discovery and reserve enough to ourselves for another day. Our people
were very civilly treated by the Indians at the island, who sold them
the bread fruit for a bead each and the hogs for a small hatchet

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[1] *Globicera pacifica.* [2] The Spotless Crake, *Porzana tabuensis.* [3] *Porphyrio melanotus.*

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Fotoo'háȧ[1] we steered NE and sometimes more northerly but made little 114
progress, so that it was about five in the evening till we reach'd two
shoals[a] that lye to the eastward of Nee'neeva,[2] the next island to 103
Fotoo'háȧ and scarcely more than two leagues from it. We then tack'd and stood again to the westward when we had soundings with fifty three and forty seven fathom in a coral sandy bottom, though not long before we had no ground with seventy fathom about four leagues east from Kàò.

We saw several more Islands to the eastward today and some land 114
whose extent could not be well determin'd, which we suppos'd to be
the Island we were directed to by Feenou. Several Canoes came from [439]
the different islands near us to barter their fruit, and Fee'nou who
had been at one of them all night came accompanied by two more [634]
large Canoes and brought two hogs, some plantanes and Cocoa nuts [431]
as a present to the Captain but return'd in the evening. In the night
we could plainly see flames issuing from Toofòȧ though to no great [133]
height, and in the day though it smoak'd considerably at other times it almost ceas'd.

FRIDAY 16th. *Lat.* DR 19.42 S. *Therm.* 73¾:75:78½:78:75:74. The 132
wind varying between SSE and SE. Gentle breezes with fine serene
weather and temperate. The sea quite smooth. In the night we made 114
short boards just to keep our station but at day light stood E close 133
hauld, when we saw the land discoverd from the mast head yesterday afternoon, bearing EbS, and could judge it to be low from the trees only appearing above the water. About nine we could see it plainly, forming three Islands nearly of an equal size, and soon after a fourth to the southward of these as large as the others. Each seem'd to be about six or seven miles long, and of the same height and appearance,
lying in a bending direction from North to south. The northermost 131
of these is call'd Hà'ano,[3] the next Fòȧ,[4] the third Lai'fooga[5] and the 103
southermost Hoo'laiva,[6] but are all included in the general name Ha'paee by the natives. There is likewise a small isle to the E'ward of Hoo'laiva call'd Ta'taffa,[7] one lying to the westward of Ha'ano call'd Loo'hoggo,[8] and another between Ha'ano and Fòȧ but farther on to the eastward call'd Noogoo'nammo.[9] About ten o clock we pass'd to the southward of two other islands, the first calld Mang'onne[10]

[a] in passing between these shoals and Fotoo'háȧ we sounded but had no ground with seventy fathom.

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[1] Fotuha'a.
[2] Niniva.
[3] Ha'ano.
[4] Foa.
[5] Lifuka.
[6] Uoleva.
[7] Tatafa.
[8] Luahoko.
[9] Nukunamu.
[10] Mo'unga'one.

131 the second Offo'lange,[1] between which is a rock nam'd Bouhee,[2] and
103 at eleven had got up to Loo'hoggo. We then tack'd and stood to the
Soward but in the afternoon to the eastward, and at seven in the
evening were within a league of the shore of Ha'ano, but stood off
again as we had no soundings with less than 56 fathom. Before dark
some more land was supposd to be seen to the NEtward, which was
probably an Island mention'd to us by the natives who call it
Va'vaoo[3] and say it is much larger than Ha'paee.

634 A good many Canoes came from the different isles who brought a
609 few hogs, fowls and fruit, and Fee'nou follow'd us again to day with a
present of two more hogs, some Cocoa nuts &c but in the afternoon
431 went forward to Hapaee.

132 SATURDAY 17th. The wind ESE. Moderate breezes with fine weather
though sometimes a little cloudy. A smooth sea. Latd at noon 19.46.08
114 p. ob. In the night we stood off and on and in the morning were close
in with Foa, which we saw was join'd to Ha'ano by a reef running
133 even with the surface of the sea from one to the other. In the mean
time the Master was sent in the cutter to sound between several
small shoals that lye a little way off shore, and before eight she made
the signal for having found anchorage, upon which we stood on and
soon after came to abreast of the reef which joins Lai'fooga to Fôà (in
the same manner as the last place is joind to Ha'ano) though rather
over towards the N end of Lai'fooga in twenty four fathom about a
mile from the shore. The bottom was a fine sand and when moor'd
one extreme of Hapaee bore the other the S end of
Fôà the north end of Lai'fooga and the island
609 Loo'hoggo off Ha'ano.[4] Immediately after anchoring many Canoes
434 came off and in a short time there was above a hundred about the
two ships with those that were constantly going to and coming from
the shore. They brought off fruits and several hogs which they
barterd in the same manner as the people at Annamooka, and indeed
we found that many of them had been at that place while we lay there.

114 The Captain went on shore at the N part of Lai'fooga a little to the
right of where the ship lay and found the landing place very convenient
except at low water, when the Boats cannot get close in for a
634 flat that runs some way off and is dry at that time. We found that the
people here paid rather still more respect to Feenou than at Annamooka,
and no person seem'd to have equal authority to him as they
seem'd to do what ever he directed with the greatest readiness.

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[1] Ofolanga, the northernmost of the Ha'apai group.

[2] Puhi: it is inside the Ofolanga reef.

[3] Vava'u.

[4] Cook is more precise about the position, p. 105 above.

SUNDAY 18th. The wind E . Moderate breezes with good weather. 114
The Gunner was employ'd to trade on shore and purchas'd a good
many hogs, plantanes &c but the greatest supply we had was a 439
present which Fee'nou made the Captain of a vast quantity of Yams, [634]
Plantanes, Sugar cane &c and two hogs, which was shar'd between
the two ships. Amongst other things we purchas'd yesterday a fine [431]
green Turtle of above 300 Lib., & to day the decks were so crowded [648]
with the natives who came to barter or were incited by curiosity that
it was almost impossible to stir. [609]

MONDAY 19th. The wind Easterly. Gentle breezes with fine weather. [132]
We continued to barter with the natives on shore as yesterday and a
great number were on board.

As we wanted to obtain some knowledge of the country some of us 609
mention'd it to Fee'nou, who sent a person as a guide and to protect
us from any insult from the natives. We travers'd nearly the whole 114
island of Lai'fooga and found it in several respects superior to Annamooka.
The plantations were both more numerous and extensive and 311
we found large spots well planted with the Morus papyrifera (paper
Mulberry),[1] but in many places towards the sea, especially on the east
side, the country is still waste owing perhaps to the sandy soil, as it is
much lower than Annamooka or its surrounding isles. Towards the [134]
middle of the island the soil is better and much better inhabited than [162]
the other parts, for we met here with very large plantations, fenc'd in
in such a manner that the fences running parallel to each other form'd [241]
fine spacious roads that would appear an ornament in the most [417]
civilizd countrys. It however labours under the inconvenience of [487]
having no good water that we could see, for though we found several
ponds the water was either very brackish or stinking, and in some 312
large holes in the coral rock which is seldom above two or three feet
from the surface it was no better than common sea water. At one 223
place we saw an artificial mount rais'd to a considerable height with
an arbour of low trees neatly contriv'd, under which our guide made 349
us understand people sate to catch pigeons.[2] At another place was a
house four or five times as large as the common sort with a large area 344
of grass before it which seem'd a place for the people to resort 764
publickly to;[3] and near the landing place we saw one of their burying 349
grounds, which was a mount two or three feet high coverd with
gravel and had four or five small huts on it, in which they said the
bodys of some of their principle people were interr'd.[4] Most of the 000

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[1] *Broussonetia papyrifera*, Tongan Hiapo.

[2] One of the mounds called *sialupe*.

[3] Tongan *mala'e*.

[4] A *fa'itoka*.

114 which is the small isle next to it, that we might go in a direct course
for Anna'mooka and found it safe as far as he went.

On a report of the Indians that Hoolaiva though almost as large
311 as Lai'fooga was neither inhabited nor cultivated I went on shore to
[225] see it, and found their account true, for there is neither the least mark
of culture or habitation upon it except one hut where a person resides
[226] to catch fish and Turtle. It is rather uncommon that it should be in
this situation when that next to it is so perfectly cultivated and the
inhabitants can walk from one to the other at low water, for though
the soil is quite sandy and there is not good water upon it why might
not the Cocoa palms, an article so usefull here (and which thrive in
the midst of sand), be planted or indeed other articles, for it produces
all the trees and plants found in a natural state on the other islands
133 with the greatest vigour. The east side has a reef like Lai'fooga from
whence we could see no island except Ta'taffa, and the west side has
349 a bending at the N part where there seems good anchorage. We found
an artificial mount like that at Hapaee raisd as high as some of the
223 surrounding trees with an arbour upon it for catching Pigeons.

Three large sailing Canoes with people who seem'd strangers has
643 come to the ship, in one of which was a person nam'd Futta'faihe[1] or
Poulaho who said he was chief of Amsterdam & all the islands we
[634] had seen or heard of. On mentioning that Feenou had pass'd as such
with us, he said that he was indeed a person of power in Amsterdam
and often sent on warlike expeditions to the other isles but deny'd his
643 being first in rank. If weight of body could give weight in rank or
power Poulaho was certainly the most eminent man in that respect
142 we had seen, for though not very tall he was of a monstrous size with
[644] fat which render'd him very unwieldy and almost shapeless. He had
straight hair and his features differ'd a good deal from the bulk of the
[576] people; but these differences would not have been sufficient to convince
us of his superior rank had we not seen some marks of respect
paid him to which we were strangers, for on giving him something to
eat two of his attendants fed him and the rest turn'd their backs while
643 he was eating. He made the Captain a present of a hog or two and a
[648] quantity of red feathers which he had heard we esteem'd, and in
return he had a piece of printed linnen and some other things. In the
[431] evening he went on shore to Laifooga, and to show that his corpulence
[501] had not render'd him wholly inactive he took a large paddle with
which they scull in the fore part of the boat and handled it dexterously
[177] enough, but he soon tir'd of the excercise. The Captain went on
shore after him and found that all the people on shore brought in the
[434]

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[1] Fatafehi.

643 relation of his, who is superior in rank to himself but has little power.
[644] He is about forty and seems a sensible man from the many shrewd
questions he ask'd, amongst which was the reason of our coming
[648] amongst the isles &c. He already left off exacting that sort of homage
as feeding him and turning their backs to him while he ate, which
[644] was done perhaps only to show us his consequence, but neither of the
[576] two that was with him would eat or drink in his presence though one
of them is his brother nam'd Futta'faihe. He seem'd to be the most
[177] unprejudic'd person imaginable, eating any thing dress'd in our way
and drinking wine with as much indifference as if us'd to it daily.

132 THURSDAY 29. Gentle breezes of wind from the Eastward in the morning with cloudy weather but in the afternoon the wind SSW and S. Modt breezes with cloudy weather. Some swell from the eastward.

114 Between seven and eight in the morning we weigh'd and steerd WNW, as we were not sure that the passage found by the boats continued to Anna'mooka where we intended to touch. At first we made little progress and pass'd at a distance from Longa'hoo and Kakka'watta,[1] two islands next to Hoo'laiva (to the westward of which last place and off its S part are some shoals), leaving them on the left and afterwards pass'd between Lo'fango and Mong'onne as we had done on coming to Ha'paee. We had also on the left two small Islands call'd Ongoo,goo'boole[2] & Mai'amma,[3] off which lyes several shoals, but when the wind shifted we haul'd close up and at night were abreast of Nee'neeva standing on towards Fotoo'háá.

648 Poulaho follow'd us and came on board but in the afternoon went
643 on shore to Lo'fango. Three more large Canoes follow'd us in one of
which came Too'bou, a person of some consequence at Amsterdam,
[431] who made a present of a hog with some other things and staid on
[644] board, as well as Futtafaihe and six or seven of Poulahos attendants.

132 FRIDAY 30th. The wind SSE. Fresh breezes with cloudy weather and
some small rain in the morning. Before day light we made short boards
114 and with great difficulty kept clear of some reefs near Nee'neeva,
which could not be seen till quite near them as it was very dark, so
that at one time we were oblig'd to fire two swivels to let the Dis-
[133] covery know the danger. At seven in the morning were very near
Fotoo'háá (between which & Nee'neeva we had been working in the
night) which is quite steep at this place and rather higher than the
other isles near it, being to appearance twenty feet or more perpen-
dicular with no soundings off it in less than fathom and seems
[133] but indifferently cultivated. The rest of the day we kept turning to
[132]

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[1] Hakau'ata. [2] Nukupule. [3] Meama.

The master was sent in the cutter to see if there was a passage 114
between the large reef Ko'koppo and 'Kotoo but though he found it
clear it was so narrow as not to be worth hazarding the working 133
through it for all that could be gain'd.

TUESDAY 3d. The wind SE. Fresh breezes with fine weather. The [132]
master was sent with the cutter to try and find a good passage between Poo'too pootooa and the reef to the SE of us into Ha'faiva but found it would be better to go in to the eastward of Pootoo poo'tooa, though even there it is narrow. He found good anchoring at Ha'faiva but says to the S^{o}ward of that about Matoogoo & the other isles there are a great number of small detach'd shoals which would make it almost impossible to get to the S^{o}ward that way, though the Captain thought he saw it clear yesterday from 'Kotoo. He sail'd round [312]
Hafaiva, landed and found it a pleasant island but the water which stood in a pond was little better than that at the other isles. We had a 643
visit from Poulaho in the forenoon who has follow'd us closely from 648
Hapaee and slept at one or other of the islands every night. He brought a present of bread fruit which seems all these small islands [431]
can now afford, & to be nearer us he has mov'd from Ha'faiva to Kotoo with two large Canoes since yesterday. He approv'd much of our going to Amsterdam from the time it was first mention'd, and presses Omaee who has been ashore with him these two nights to stay at Amsterdam.

WEDNESDAY 4th. The wind ESE or EbS. Fresh breezes and sometimes 132
brisk squalls during which it generally veer'd to EbN. The weather cloudy and sometimes showers of rain. A considerable sea. In the 114
morning between seven and eight we weigh'd and stood up round the NW part of the reef off Kotoo and then hauld close to the S^{o}ward. We soon came in sight of Anna'mooka and at noon were abreast of it, 114
passing to the Eastward of a large shoal that lyes three leagues west 133
from it. At one afternoon we tackd and then made several boards but could not fetch the island, the N part of which bore ENE five or six miles distant in the dusk of the evening and the S part of Annamooka'eeke SEbE.

The Discovery could not weather the shoal which oblig'd her to 114
make a stretch to the N^{o}ward, by which she fell so far to leeward that we could scarcely see her in the evening. Saw several Terns, Shear- [136]
waters, and a good many flying fish in the passage.

THURSDAY 5th. The wind ESE. Strong breezes or brisk gales with 132
dark cloudy weather. A considerable sea. Before day light we kept turning making boards of about two hours and at dawn the N part of 114

55: Anderson D,T-5 (1777) 1967 OU9 Tonga OU9

some height. We row'd to the last place and landed amongst a
considerable number of people, who receivd us with a sort of acclamation 643
not unlike our huzzaing, as most of them had probably never 648
seen a Europæan before and apparently had collected for that [133]
purpose. They immediately seperated to let Poulaho pass, who took [609]
us into a small inclosure and shifted the piece of cloth he wore for a
new piece neatly folded that was carried by a young man. An old [576]
woman assisted in dressing him and put a mat over his cloth, as we [292]
supposd to prevent its being dirtied when he sat down, but to our
great surprize on asking where Mareewagee was he said he had gone
from the place just before we arriv'd to the ship. He however desir'd [344]
us to walk with him up to a Ma'laee (a house of public resort or
perhaps worship)[1] which was near half a mile up, but when we came to
a large Area before it he sat down in the path and desird us to walk
to the house, which we did & sat down in front while the crowd that
followd us fill'd up the rest.

After sitting a little while Omaee went to enquire if he meant we
should see Mareewagee, but he either not understanding him or
interpreting his answer into an equivocal one we walkd about a little
and the Captain then ask'd to see his house, which he seem'd averse
to though he promis'd it before; upon which suspecting we should
not be able to see the person we went back to the boat, & just at our
departure three men with leaves strung about their necks sat down
near Poulaho and began to repeat something with a serious air which
we did not stay to hear finish'd. We also met several people coming
with Baskets of Yams & hogs which were sent to the boat after us, [431]
but the Capt^{n} was so chagrin'd at his disappointment that he would
not receive them nor a bale of cloth that was sent after us by a Canoe.

It is difficult to tell whether our disappointment was only accidental
or designed by Poulaho, for on enquiring at our return to the ship
no such person as Mareewagee had been there. I am however inclin'd [123]
to think it arose partly from our not understanding them perfectly,
and that had we waited a sufficient time we might perhaps have seen
the old man, as they mention'd some thing about a chief who would
come presently when they found us determind to go away.

The small tent for making Astronomical observations, with that 114
from the Discovery, were fixd to day immediately on the point at no
great distance from the other tent. A pretty brisk trade for provisions 439
carried on with the natives, a great many of whom came off to the
ship.

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[1] It was not the house that was the *mala'e*, but the cleared space in front of it; and the Tongan *mala'e* was not a place of worship.

55: Anderson D,T-5 (1777) 1967 OU9 Tonga OU9

weather. The people employ'd in wooding, mending sails &c as usual 132
on shore, & those on board in getting up the empty water casks &c.

In return for the entertainment we receiv'd yesterday a party of 114
marines were order'd to go through their excercise on the spot where 648
the dances were perform'd last night. Poulaho with the other prin-
cipal people were present, and all the spectators were well pleas'd 177
with the several motions when properly done, but they easily dis- [643]
cern'd the aukwardness of some of their monuvres which afforded
them matter for much mirth. They could not however help expressing
their surprize at some platoons that were tolerably exact, and still
more at the distance they saw the bullets fly to upon the water, but
they seem'd to pay little attention to the fife and drum or french
horns that play'd in the intervals.

In the evening we exhibited some fire works on the same spot,
which was convenient from being close to the water side, and they
express'd a considerable degree of wonder at some of them, especially
the water rockets and two false fires, the first of which some of them
were apprehensive would come on shore when they saw them change
their place so frequently in the water, and very seriously ask'd the
question. We found that the diversions which were shown us yester- 648
day had been done entirely by the orders of Mareewagee and 535
Toobou, for the two piles of Yams that lay in the ground where they
had been perform'd were given to Cap^{tn} Cook as a present (with 643
some pieces of cloth) and most probably were levy'd as a tribute for 431
that purpose, from the equality of what every man brought. 651

The circle of natives about the tent being pretty large they engag'd
the greatest part of the afternoon in boxing and wrestling, the first of 526
which they call Fanga'tooa, the other Foohoo.[1] When any of them
chuses to wrestle he gets up from one side of the ring, crosses the [201]
ground in a sort of [measured] pace clapping smartly on the elbow
joint of one arm, which is bent, and produces a hollow sound that is
reckon'd the challenge. If no person appears from the opposite side
to engage him he returns in the same manner and sits down, but
sometimes stands clapping in the midst of the ground to provoke some
one to come out. If an opponent appears they come together with
marks of the greatest good nature, generally smiling and taking time
to adjust the piece of cloth they wear which is fastened about the
waste. They then lay hold of each other by the piece of cloth, or a
girdle which they sometimes wear, with a hand on each side and one
endeavours to draw his antagonist to him, which if he is so lucky as to
effect he immediately trys to lift him upon his breast and throw him

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[1] He has got the words reversed: *fuhu* is boxing, *fangatua* is wrestling.

their antagonist and give him another very smart one with the other 526
hand backwards. The boxing matches seldom last long, and the
partys either leave off together or one acknowledges his being beat
in that manner, but they never sing the victory in these cases unless
one strikes his antagonist to the ground, which shows that of the
two wrestling is their most approv'd diversion. Not only boys engage [857]
as often as the men in both these excercises, but frequently little girls,
who are generally mention'd by some person in the circle, box very
bitterly for a short time; in all which cases it does not appear that
they ever consider it as the smallest disgrace to be vanquish'd, and
the person overcome sits down with as much indifference as if he had
never enterd the lists. Some of our people ventur'd to contend with
them in both excercises, but were always worsted, except in a few
cases where it appear'd that the fear they were in of offending us
gain'd a greater share of the victory than the superiority of the
person who engag'd.

THURSDAY 19th. The weather pretty good but at night cloudy with 132
some showers of rain. Our people employ'd as usual. The Captain 114
made a distribution to day of the live stock he intended to leave here,
giving a heifer, bull and cow to Poulaho, a horse and mare to Feenou, 648
and a ram with two ewes to Mareewagee, at the same time time 177
giving directions how they should be rear'd and propogated: but 231
they did not show any particular marks of satisfaction as if they
considerd them a usefull acquisition.

FRIDAY 20th. The wind E or EbN. Fresh breezes with cloudy weather. 132
The people employ'd as usual. In the morning two of the Turkeys on
shore were missing, and upon suspicion that the Indians had stole 648
them the Captain confind Poulaho & Feenou with a guard at the 634
tent, and orderd a large Canoe that was along side the ship to be 643
detain'd; but they were soon releas'd on producing an axe and
wedge & one of the Turkeys that had been stolen before, with a
promise to restore the other Turkey.

SATURDAY 21st. The wind Easterly. Moderate breezes with fine 132
weather but at night a few showers and squalls. The Indians, many
of whom had been absent for two days from their being unable to 648
procure victuals upon the spot, collected in great numbers about the 431
tent and in the morning two large piles, each compos'd of the trunks
of four trees plac'd near [each] other in a square about thirty feet 643
high, were erected with pieces fastend across to get up by. These [349]
were fill'd to the top with large yams, and in the forenoon a number

648 of people brought a good many fish which were chiefly mullet, and
431 others carry'd small ones stuck on branches as at Mareewagees
though more numerous in a kind of procession. They also brought a
643 small Turtle and afterwards a great many more Yams, all of which
with a piece of cloth, a mat and bit of red feathers were given as a
648 present to the Captain by Poulaho, besides two hogs which were
535 carry'd up and fasten'd to crown the two piles of Yams. About one
o'clock they began the Mai or dances, the first of which was almost a
[643] copy of the first we saw at Mareewagees house. The second was conducted by the Toobou, who also danc'd there, and had four or five
women in it who went through the several parts with as much
exactness as the men. Towards the end they divided to leave room
for two men who excercis'd their clubs as mentioned in the first
648 dances, and in the third which was the last two more did the same.
526 The dances were succeeded by wrestling and boxing, and one man
entered the lists with a sort of club made from the stem of a Cocoa
411 leaf which is firm and heavy, but could not find one that would engage him at so rough a sport. At night we had the Bo'mai repeated,
535 in which Poulaho himself danc'd, but neither these nor the dances in
648 the day were so considerable or carried on with such spirit as those at
643 Mareewagees, which proves that in this as well as other countrys
there are private men able sometimes to give entertainments superior
to their Kings.

132 SUNDAY 22. The wind Easterly. Fresh breezes with cloudy weather.
The people unemployed. Some of our Gentlemen set out yesterday
114 morning to see the interior part of the island, and after walking some
[133] way met with a lake or Lagune which they cross'd in a Canoe, and is probably an arm running from the Bay mentiond before to the westward as they did not see its communication with the sea. They then
[311] cross'd to the opposite side of the island, some parts of which they
[609] found very well cultivated, and stay'd all night but found the inhabitants not very willing to supply them with provisions though
[648] they treated them civilly in other respects. On returning back to day
one of them had his gun unexpectedly snatch'd from him by some of
the people that follow'd them, and another trusting a young man to
carry his lost it by the other setting off though he had carried it many
miles.

132 MONDAY 23. The wind from NE to NNW. Moderate breezes with dull
cloudy weather, a close air and in the evening a good deal of rain. In
114 the morning the cutter with the Master and the Discoverys cutter

643 of the peoples property. On coming to the point they mention'd
some thing of a person who they said had been fir'd at by some of our
164 people, and upon our wishing to see him they carried us to a house
where we found a man who had been shot through the shoulder, but
114 not dangerously, as the ball had enterd a little above the inner part
of the collar bone and pass'd out obliquely backwards. We were sure
from the state of the wound that it was the person who had been fir'd
at by the centinel the day the others were punishd, though positive
orders had been given that none of them should load their pieces
752 with any thing but small shot. There had been no application made
to it and the people about him seem'd to be very little concern'd at
the accident, nor indeed the man himself farther than his being
oblig'd to sit still from the pain and swelling which was considerable.
[627 We gave them some directions how to manage it & they seem'd
pleas'd when we told them it would get well in a certain time: but
[648 what is singular, on our going away they ask'd us to send him some
Yams & other things for food, and in such a manner that we could
not help thinking they imagin'd it was our duty to support him till
he should get well.[1]

In the evening we cross'd the Bay in a Canoe which Futtafaihe
643 had excercisd his prerogative in procuring by calling to the first that
[114] pass'd by, and found fault with the people because they did not seem
to come immediately as they were calld to. He had also got a large hog
[648 at this place and brought a servant from his house with a bundle of
cloth which he wanted us to carry as a present from him, but the Boat
[431] being small we objected and he order'd it to be brought over next day.

We got off the remaining horses, Cattle and sheep as preparatory
177 to our leaving the place.

231 WEDNESDAY 2^d^. The wind SE. Moderate breezes with dull cloudy
132 weather and some rain in the morning.

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[1] Compare King's account on the Tongan point of justice. They went to the man, '& found him in a very grave temper, with his wife & some friends sitting by him . . . nature was doing her part, the seperation had begun, & the Doctor said he did not doubt, but left to itself it would have done well; the parts about were swell'd & inflam'd & the man complaind of not being able to lay himself down; we had about us some linnen & the Doctor cleand the wound & applyd some lint to the place, & made them well understand, how they were to proceed in future, he direct'd them to clap a Poultice of Plantain, but we were a little surpris'd on his wifes not asking as a favour, but as matter of justice something to buy him Plantains, & not for this purpose only, but food for her family, saying that they had nothing of their own, living upon the labours of the wounded man who was a Fisherman, & that as we had depriv'd him of earning his & their livelyhood, we should keep them; We had a long Altercation on this point, but some grave old men nodded in favour of our arguments when we told the woman, that had he been fishing for his family when he attemptd the theft for which he was punishd, she woud not now have want'd our assistance. The man recover'd his spirits instantaneously on our assuring him that he woud not die of this wound.'—Adm 55/116, f. 93v.—In the Tongan context, the idea of 'buying' plantains is rather surprising.

a break in the reef which they enter by here, and is the only place 133 where landing is practicable. Unmoord ship in the morning. A little to the left of the landing place there is a kind of creek that runs up a little way into a large cleft chink or gully, the sides of which are formd by rugged rocks at least forty feet high, which I found upon examination to be the same as that calcareous substance[a] found on the highest part of Annamooka; from whence it is probable the Basis of this Island is of that substance and perhaps the craggs to the eastward, as this, is a division directly in a solid part of it. There was two [312] places with excellent water near the upper part which with a little trouble might be conveyd down so as to water a ship, but it seems doubtfull if there is such a quantity to be always found in these places. It was so cool in this place, which is always shelter'd from the 137 sun, that we found several of the sorts of fern growing in New Zeeland & some others here. We also found on returning by the high grounds that the rains for two days passd had washd down a kind of iron 134 sand, like that us'd to dry up ink, upon the paths which was every where sparkling but so mixd with the common mould that no quantity could be collected.

Our people traded as yesterday and the chief Ta'oofa made the 439 Captain a present of two pretty large piles of yams, which seemd to 431 be collected by a kind of contribution as at the other isles. He also entertaind us with boxing and wrestling and as an Introduction several pairs of women box'd with the true spirit of female acrimony, 526 one of the first sending off her antagonist with a bloody nose, but [648] these matches seldom lasted long before some of their own sex rose and interposd. Whether the old observation is true that in enmity a woman is a more implacable adversary than a man, and that our present example will help to decide it I will not determine, but I am rather inclind to think their passion for speedy and universal conquest was the reason of our heroines engaging with such irresistible fury, as the shame of being conquer'd seemd to affect them more than the severity of the blows. At the same time we could not observe [157] without pleasure another instance of the many we had seen before amongst the men of the great temper and even generosity they exhibit in sports which are properly their province, and ought never to engage female delicacy, for two of these after boxing a considerable time with great spirit and dexterity, and finding neither was likely to overcome, desisted suddenly and embracing kiss'd each other with

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[a] If this is to be considerd as coral it is very different from that coarse calcareous basis from which all growing corals that spring from it seem to derive their support or rather covering, and is therefore to be reckond a distinct species or has perhaps no affinity to it.

565 saw there, and indeed the few persons of consequence here seem to be
little better than factors for the principal men of Tonga who have
large posessions in this island, amongst whom we found Latoone
Booloo had no small share, and a child of his who was very young
439 had almost as much respect paid it as the father at Tonga. The
eagerness of these people to get into their possession some more of our
431 commoditys, which must be reckond inestimable treasures by them,
appears from their sending a Canoe which reach'd us in the afternoon
with a message importing that the chiefs at Tonga had sent over some
hogs as presents and would follow themselves, but it was too late to
be of advantage to either party, for we were now three or four leagues
114 off. We sounded at four in the afternoon but had no ground with 120
fathom 3 leagues off.

000 FRIDAY 18th. *Lat.* 22.00 S–22.07. *Long.* 185.11 E–185.11–185.11. The wind E except part of the morning when it shifted suddenly to S or SbE. Moderate breezes with close dark weather in the morning and a good deal of rain but afterwards clearer. An irregular sea. In the morning early were taken a-back with a squall when the wind shifted to S, which split the mainsail and maintop gallant sail. We then stood E close hauld but as the wind veerd to E in the forenoon we wore and stood SSE. In the evening it came again to SW when we tack'd and stood to the eastward.

SATURDAY 19th. *Lat.* 22.29 S–22.26.20. *Long.* 186.11 E–00.00–186.00. *Var.* 08.41.50. The wind varying gradually from SW till the evening when it got to SE. Moderate breezes with fine weather. A moderate sea. Stood to the eastward but in the evening tack'd and stood to the S°ward.

SUNDAY 20th. *Lat.* 22.29 S–22.28.15. *Long.* 186.41 E–00.00–186.32. The wind SSE till the evening when it shifted to EbS. Moderate breezes with fine weather. Some swell from the SE. Stood to the eastward till night and then to the S°ward. Saw a fin fish,[1] some tropic Birds, Dolphins and Bonnettos.

MONDAY 21st. *Lat.* 23.03 S–22.59. *Long.* 187.08–00.00–186.39. The wind ENE and sometimes NE. Moderate breezes with fine weather. Some swell from ENE. Stood SE and ESE close hauld. Saw some fish in the afternoon.

TUESDAY 22. *Lat.* DR 23.53 S. *Long.* 187.59–00.00–187.32. The wind NNE and NEbE. Fresh breezes with cloudy weather. A moderate sea. Stood E and EbS close hauld.

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[1] *Balaenoptera physalus.*

[pp. 967-986 not processed]

56: Samwell D,T-5 (1777) 1967 OU9 Tonga OU9

considerable Height & the Island may be called low upon the whole. 133
It abounds with Bread fruit trees, Cocoa nuts, Yams, Plantains &
Tarroo root & is well stocked with Hogs & Fowls. We found no great 136
Difficulty in getting the Girls on board, for the Charms of a Hatchet, 137
a Shirt or a long nail they could no more withstand than we could
theirs which were far from being despicable. Some of these Girls 609
were exceeding handsome, tho' it was afterwards universally allowed 836
that in female softness & Delicacy they were excelled by the Otaheitean
Ladies.

We had been at Anamooka about a Week when there arrived 648
from one of the neighbouring Isles a Chief whose authority was
acknowledged to be superior to that of Toobow the King of the 634
Island. He was taken on board the Ship by Capt Cook & treated with
respect suitable to his Dignity, & presented with a Cotton Gown,
Hatchets, Beads & other Things with which he was well pleased. 634
The Name of the great Personage we found was Phenow,[1] he is about [141]
thirty years of age, not robust but tall & well made & exceedingly
active & lively with a majestic Countenance & a noble and manly [142]
Deportment, his forehead is high, his Nose Aquiline & his Eye
penetrating and full of fire, his Hair thick & flowing over his
Shoulders. He seemed to be possessed of a mind intelligent, firm,
elevated & generous; His manners were free and engaging. In his
intercourse with us he shewed a keeness and Penetration that distinguished
him as a great Character. In a short time he became a
Favourite with all, & tho' afterwards we met with Chiefs of higher
rank than him he still continued to be the most popular Man among
us while we staid at these Islands. He generally had three or four of
his Mistresses attending him who were very handsome women. He 634
made Capt. Cook several Presents of red Feathers, Hogs & Fruits &
he spent much of his time on board the Resolution where many 648
things engaged his attention, more particularly the great Guns & 177
small arms; to gratify his Curiosity a great gun was fired with Ball [431]
towards the Shore which was about a mile distant, another was fired
afterwards on the other side towards the open sea. We saw them both
light & the astonishment which they created in Phenow & the other
Chiefs who were on board may be much easier conceived than
described; two or three more Guns were fired, when Phenow partly
terrified with the Explosion & perfectly satisfied with the Execution
of them told us that he desired no more. At the same time that this
Experiment pleased & gratified the Curiosity of the Indian Chief, it
impressed him with a Dread of our Power, which no doubt was of use

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[1] Finau. Why Samwell spells the name with 'Ph' is a mystery.

648 head the other to their waist, then wriggling their backsides in a
541 lascivious manner, springing up again & repeating the same motions.
Then dividing in equal numbers, retreating back, then running
535 forwards & meeting, all the time repeating a Song & frequently
[532] looking upward towards the Sky. They continued dancing about a
quarter of an Hour & then went out of the Ring & were succeeded
by a new sett. It was universally allowed that their Dancing was very beautiful & striking & much exceeding any thing of the kind that had been seen among other Indians, & being performed by candle light
[431] had altogether a most pleasing Effect. As they withdrew each Nymph
took the Chaplet of Flowers off her head & bestowed it upon her favourite Swain which no doubt was esteemed as a Mark of her peculiar Grace; many of them had the Politeness to offer them to some of our Gentlemen & they were accepted with Pleasure as marks of their particular Favour.

When two or three Setts had thus entertained us they were
648 succeeded by a party of Men whose Performance was not much unlike
541 that of the Women, except their entering into a kind of Dialogue
536 which we regretted that we did not understand, as it contained
frequent strokes of Wit & humour, if we might judge from the loud
[522] bursts of laughter echoing round us; they were composed of two
Parties, an elderly person from each side meeting at the Head of their band & entering into a dialogue accompanyed with many shrewd Gestures. This may be called a kind of Dramatic Entertainment, tho' there did not seem to be any marked or different Character in it like
648 those in the same Species of Exhibition at the Society Isles. When they
had retired a Company of young women came into the ring & sat
541 down looking rather dejected. This unusual Appearance led us to
expect some new Entertainment, & we were not kept long in Suspence before a Scene truly novel tho' not very entertaining was exhibited. A Man came into the ring & without any Ceremony advanced to one of the Girls who immediately bowed down her head & presented her back in an advantageous position, upon which he laid as heavy [a] blow as he could with both hands open & then proceeded to the next, & so on till he came to the last but two, when for what reason it is difficult to say, instead of striking her on her back he gave her a blow with all his Force on her naked Breasts which struck her backwards. Upon this a Man who was sitting in the ring jumped up & knocked him down, he took it in good part & walked off without uttering a syllable. To see this unmerciful Beadle punished was no small Pleasure to us all, as it was really more than we could well bear to be inactive Spectators of so many beautiful

439 We were soon surrounded by a great number of Canoes full of men
who behaved in a friendly manner to us and sold us Hogs, Cocoa nuts,
Plantains and other fruits for nails & beads.

122 JUNE 11th. The Tents with the 2 Astronomers' Observatories were
erected on shore under a Guard of Marines, & all our live Stock was
landed which consisted of 4 Horses, several head of Cattle, Sheep,
Goats & Hogs with Peacocks, Turkies & Geese. Our Tents were
situated at the upper end of a fine Area surrounded by Trees, it seems
to be a place appropriated for the Exhibition of Public Games, such
as wrestling, boxing &c. Close to the Tents was one of the Chiefs
Houses, behind them lay a thick wood, on the right an Inlet which
extended a considerable way up but was dry at low water, on the left
was the Harbour where we could see between the Trees the Ships at
anchor; the Observatories were erected without the Area close to the
Beach but within sight of the Tents, they were inclosed with a Hedge
[312] & always guarded by a Sentry. Near the Tents was a pool of indifferent
fresh Water, of which there are many in the Island and are
[515] used as bathing places by the Natives. Powlohow took up his residence
in a House a little way without the Area, that next to the Tents
177 was occupied by his Consent by some of the Gentlemen who were
825 ordered a shore on duty, and another little Hut close by was allotted
[122] us for the use of our Cattle & Poultry, whose appearance excited as
[643] much astonishment and admiration as a Collection of wild Beasts at a
Country fair in England. The Indians were a long time before they
could be persuaded to approach near to the Horses & Cattle, but our
Sheep & Goats, being more like their Hogs, they did not regard with
the same degree of Terror tho' it was some time before they became
thoroughly reconciled to the Goats; these on being approached by
the Indians would rear on their hind Legs & make a push at them,
which put them in bodily fear & often made whole armies fly.
However they found out by degrees that they were as innocent as the
Sheep & only more playful, so that at last the Indians passed by them
648 or advanced up to them without any dread. During the time of
erecting our Tents we were surrounded by a great Number of
609 Indians who behaved in an orderly and peaceable Manner and at
643 night retired to their several Homes except the attendants of Powlohow,
who remained with him at his House waiting for his Supper.
[431] Some Servants arrived with provisions enough for a Hundred men
which Powlohow, after a basket or two were laid by for himself,
ordered to be laid at the Doors of our Tents as a present for our
people together with a number of Cocoa nuts; the provision he

presented us with consisted of Fish and Yams baked, which were 648
very well cooked.

After he saw our people make themselves welcome he went to his 609
own Supper, which consisted also of baked Yams & Fish with the 643
addition of some pudding made of the meat of the Cocoa nut, some [431]
Cocoa nuts stripped of the Husk & some Cups filled with good fresh
Water; the Men who brought the Provisions went away as soon as 644
they had laid down their loads, and as they retired paid their respects 643
to Powlohow by sitting down cross legged & rising again im-
mediately; the Table off which he supped was a clean Matt laid 264
upon that he sat upon, a basket was opened from which some fresh [262]
Plantain Leaves were taken out, unfolded & laid upon the Matt
before him, & the Yams & fish laid upon them, but the Pudding [271]
remained in the Leaves in which it had been prepared. Two Chiefs[1] [576]
waited upon him, poured some water on his Hands while he washed [516]
them, peeled his Yam & picked the Fish & then fed him, one
putting Fish in his Mouth the other Yam. He did not eat much: as
soon as he had done the two feeders got their Supper, & then every
thing was removed & what was not eaten put into the Baskets & put
by in the House, they eat their Supper just without in the open air.
Soon after Supper was over He desired the two Chiefs to make pre- 644
parations for his going to sleep, on which they unrolled & spread out
on the floor of the House a large Matt & after that a great parcel of 643
Cloth & laid one of their Wooden bolsters at hand. Powlohow soon 513
laid down & addressed himself to sleep, and the Chiefs covered him [352]
over with the Cloth & then laid themselves on each Side of him.

In a few minutes after a young Woman came into the House & sat
down by him, it was naturally concluded that she was one of his
Mistresses but in this we were mistaken; her office was to lull the old
King to rest by tapping him with both Hands as quick as possible
on different parts of his body. He was much troubled with an [164]
asthmatick Complaint which frequently waked him, on which the
young woman immediately renewed the Tuggee tuggee[2] as it is called
& laid him again asleep. After having been about an hour and a half
busily employed in this manner, finding him fast asleep she respect-
fully kneeled down & took her leave of him by kissing his feet &
touching them with her head, however there are always women in
waiting in case he should happen to wake. Everything had gone on 177
hitherto very quietly at the Tents, but in the night the Guard was
alarmed with the Cry of Murder help &c. A file of Marines went 648
directly to the place where the Cry was heard, where they found one

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[1] *matapule*, titled ceremonial attendants.

[2] *tukituki*.

56: Samwell D,T-5 (1777) 1967 OU9 Tonga OU9

was never able to recover it again. One night they stole the Turky 648
Cock & Captⁿ Cook judging with great reason that the Chiefs con-
nived at these Robberies seized on Powlohow & some other Chiefs & 685
put them into the Custody of the Marines on shore, & soon after [643]
carried them on board the Resolution as Hostages till the Turky was
returned. The Natives were much alarmed at this & great Numbers
of them armed themselves with Clubs as if they intended to attack
our people that were on shore, however no disturbance happened
and the Turky was returned the next day on which the Chiefs were
immediately released. This affair created a coolness between us, and
in order to restore the former Friendship & good will that has sub- 648
sisted between us, Powlohow caused a large Pile abᵗ 30 feet high to be 643
erected before the Tents, on which were placed a very great quantity 431
of Yams & on the top of all some barbequed Hogs, all which he made
a Present or Peace offering of to Captain Cook, who accepted them
and made him a Present of Hatchets, Knives, Beads &c. in return,
with which the good old King was much pleased as well on account
of its being a Pledge of Captⁿ Cook's Friendship as of the Value
of the articles themselves. But notwithstanding all this the Natives
sought all opportunities to pilfer and steal from us, & the Carpenters 648
having made frequent Complaints that the Indians stole their Tools 685
from them there was a Sentry placed over them. Capt Cook found it necessary to make an Example of one of them who had been very insolent to them & had stoned the Sentry, accordingly he was seized upon and one of our people was ordered to cut a Cross upon his arm with a Knife, at which Phenow was so much affected that he shed Tears, the man being a follower of his. This method of punishment carries the Appearance of Cruelty along with it, however in fact it is more merciful than to let these Thefts go unnoticed till at length the Natives grow so emboldened as to proceed to such Excesses that would oblige us to take away their Lives. This Man's suffering in the common Cause created an universal Discontent among them, which was so visible that for the Safety of our people on shore Captⁿ Cook doubled the Guard at the Tent, all the Marines of both Ships being ordered there on Duty.

Some Gentlemen made an Excursion for two days into the interior Part of the Island accompanied by two Indian Guides, they found the Country very pleasant & the Natives in general behaved very civil to them, which indeed is agreeable to their disposition, but the strong Desire they have for Iron manufacture of all Kinds surmounts every other & makes them forget the rights of Friendship & Hospitality. One of the Gentlemen happening to stray in the woods by

Excursions into different parts of the Country, among others I shall 648
here mention the reception that four of us met with on a Visit we
paid to Toobow, a Chief of the first Consequence who lived about 3 609
or four miles along shore to the Eastward of our Tents. On our arrival 565
being made known to him by the great Croud that accompanied us [431]
the old Chief came out of his Inclosure & met us on the highway, &
then conducted us to his House where we were entirely free from the [576]
Croud, none of whom dared to follow us into his Inclosure; he desired
us to sit down which we did & then made him a present of Nails
& other things, for which he thanked us by putting each article to his
head, which is the Custom of these people on receiving any Gift; after
a little while his wives of which he has 2 or 3 came in & sat down with
us, first having paid their respect to Toobow by touching his foot
with their Heads & then with the back & palm of their Hands, and
this Ceremony they always use on coming to his presence as well as on
leaving him. He made some apologies to us in that he was not able to 648
get us any thing for dinner but fish, all the Hogs being at this time
under a Taboo as they had supplied the Ships with as many as they 609
could spare, & this shews How strictly the Chiefs themselves observe 262
those Laws which they make for the public Good. However we made [184]
an excellent Dinner of baked fish & yams, & having brought some
Brandy with us which mixed with the Cocoa nut Milk makes a most
excellent Drink we were not in a Humour to find fault, on the
Contrary we spent a merry afternoon. Toobow having provided a 648
Company of dancers to entertain us, we in our Turns entertained
with Country dances on the green before the House, at which Toobow 609
was much delighted, & we were altogether so pleased with our 836
honest Host & the cordial manner in which he entertained us that
we resolved to stay at his House all night, & to encourage us in this [264]
resolution He promised to procure a mistress for each of us, we wanted [262]
no more & Toobow was as good as his word. About 12 o'Clock we [513]
were waked by the Servants to a repast of fish & yams which was
provided for us (it seems to be a common Custom with these people
to eat ab^t that time of night), we partook of some of it with our
Dulcineas who were all fine Girls & did Honour to Toobow's
Hospitality, we all laid together in one room upon Matts & were
covered with a large Quantity of Indian Cloth. One Girl hearing a [833]
rustling of the bed Cloaths at one time of the Night cried out
'Cohaiia'[1]—ie. what is the matter? the other who was the occasion of
it & then employed ab^t some business or other very innocently

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[1] *ko e ha.*

our Cloth & matting very strong & neatly made, some of these are 291
brown others quite white & they are always fringed. They have also
various kinds of Matts with fringes & tossels worked on them which 292
they wear upon extraordinary Occasions, they also wear over all
round the middle a dress made of Leaves more for ornament than 301
use, & they wear one like it but less about their necks, which they
also ornament with Necklaces made of Shells, but these soon gave
way to our blue beads of which they were extravagantly fond both
men & women. The common Dress of the Chiefs & which seemed to 565
distinguish them from the common people was a large piece of Cloth
round their waist & plaited at the upper part, which is done by the 291
women with the same Care & nicety as Shirts are plaited in England
tho' the folds are not near so fine. This was no unbecoming Dress, [302]
they oil their Hair & Shoulders with Cocoa nut oil after bathing, &
thus dress'd and decorated an Amsterdam Chief cuts no despicable
appearance. They wear their Hair long, flowing over their Shoulders,
but they are obliged to cut it off on particular Occasions such as the 302
Death of the Chiefs or of their relations, and for the same Reason 763
both men & women & even Children cut off their little fingers: many
of them have both cut off, there are but very few that have not lost 304
one, they cut it off just underneath the first joint, tye up the Stump 752
with grass & leaves[1] & it soon heals, they cut them off with stone
Chizels & then bury them in the ground. Their Arms & Cheek bones 304
are also marked in memory of the dead. Their walk is strait & 765
majestic & their manners free & open. In their Dispositions they are
friendly hospitable & humane, very tender to & careful of old People 181
and the Sick, & civil & obliging to each other, treat their women well. [516]
I was much pleased with the following instance of their gratitude
which I happened to be a witness to. A large Sailing Canoe having
got her rigging entangled with the Resolution's driver boom was in 431
danger of carrying away her Mast, & the Indians had made several
Efforts but in vain to disengage it, which a young Gentleman who
had the Watch upon deck observing ordered one of the Men to
assist them, who thinking it no part of his duty growled about it &
was very unwilling to go, on which the gentleman jumped on the
boom himself & got the Canoe clear; the Indians then insisted upon
his accepting a large bunch of Cocoa nuts as a present for the Service
he had done them, but this he would not accept tho' he was much
pleased with the Offer.

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[1] There can have been no uniformity of treatment. Anderson speaks of no treatment at all; Mariner says (II, p. 179) that after the operation the stump was merely 'held in the smoke and steam arising from the combustion of fresh-plucked grass', this stopping the flow of blood.

L

cally express their satisfaction and approbation of each other. We were 175 likewise entertain'd with wrestling Matches, at which exercise they shew great strength and agility, at the boxing Matches, in which they strike 609 very hard, but have little Idea of catching a blow; they sometimes avoid it by feats of activity in skipping and bobbing aside, but are Strangers to 175 the art of Broughtonizing.[1] The Women are introduc'd into these boxing 609 Matches, and do pay one another about the Face and Eyes most intolerably; 542 this however we put aside in some measure during our Stay, for to us who are accustom'd to pay such attention to the Ladies, it appear'd a 526 most unnatural and barbarous Amusement. The Men sometimes fought with Clubs, made with the large End of Coco Tree Branches, with which [152] they bang'd each other about the Head most heartily: now thro' all this Boxing, fighting &c, wherein they must very frequently have been most miserably hurt, such was their great good Nature and happy disposition, that I never saw any thing like a passion or the least heat of temper upon any of these Occasions among them; but tho' they were thus set on to knock each other about for the Amusement of their Superiors, they went thro' the whole Ceremony, and put up with the very disagreeable Sensations it must have occasion'd, with the same Complacency they wou'd have shewn in the most innocent and pleasing Amusements.

On the 27th arrived here another great Man from Amsterdam whose 175 Name was Fatafa Powlahow, who gave us to understand he was Agilahi, 643 or King, of it and all the various Isles in the Neighbourhood: to corroborate this account, he was shewn all manner of respect and attention 634 by the People, as indeed was Feenow, who at this time was absent [431] upon a Visit to an Isle he call'd Vow-Vow,[2] which he told us was only one days sail from this Place, and from which he promised to make an expeditious [484] return with an abundant Present of red Feathers, and Hogs.

This Story of the rival Kings appear'd very extraordinary, but Capt Cook and myself of course, courted the friendship of King Powlahow, as at any rate we saw he must be a Man of extensive Power, and consequently by us to be attended to, However as Feenow did not return to the time he had promis'd, we concluded that his Absence was to avoid the disagreeable ceremony of an Interview with a Man, where his hitherto boasted Laurels must fall to the Ground.

On the 28 Instant, having far'd at these Isles as our Friend Feenow had 175 promised, most luxuriously; we weigh'd and stood again for Anamooka, where we anchor'd on June the 6th. Capt Cook had sown some Seeds of 114 various kinds during our last Stay here, and was desirous of seeing how the Country agreed with them; some he found in a tolerable State, but others of them had been so ill used by Insects, as to render their being of future Service rather improbable.

Both Powlahow and Feenow soon join'd us here; I was present at the 175 first Interview that happen'd between them, when Feenow did the homage 634 of a Subject to Powlahow, but with such a dejection of countenance and 643

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[1] See note on Samwell, p. 1028 above.

[2] Vava'u.

154
602
166 "I would stay even if I had no job. My sister is here."

464 Although an uneducated migrant probably has more difficulty in obtaining employment, migrants with secondary education have no more difficulty than the locally-born. The migrant's prospects for employment depend, along with all Tongans, on his education and the extent and importance of his kin. Migrants tend to be less involved in agriculture because they have more difficulty in obtaining registered land. They are, therefore, slightly more active in commerce, the produce boards, in certain tertiary areas and in a miscellanea of backyard jobs which are termed part-manufacturing and processing.

156 [186] [171] Most migrants intend to remain in Nuku'alofa and tend to feel they belong there. The reasons for "belonging" are illuminating and should further discredit the view that Polynesians have some sort of mystic attachment to their place of birth, an attachment which supposedly outweighs more mundane considerations. "I belong to Nuku'alofa because I can support my children here", was how one informant expressed his feelings, while another in a much more sweeping statement merely said, 602 "Nuku'alofa has everything". Belonging to Nuku'alofa does not, however, mean that the migrant severs his ties with the home island. He belongs more to his family than to a place. It was the institution of the family which supported him on arrival in Nuku'alofa and, once established and part of the family chain, he now 602 431 574 assists close relations who remain on the home island. Gifts and visits were exchanged by over three-quarters of those interviewed (see Table IV) and most not participating in such contact either had no close relation remaining in the home island or were young people whose obligations were for the present assumed by older brothers or sisters living in Nuku'alofa. This contact is reciprocal and only stops with the death or migration of the close relations involved.

Table IV

Close Family Gifts and Visits between Islands

	Yes	No	Not Stated
Gifts to Islands	39	18	-
Gifts from Islands	31	24	2
Visits to Islands	41	16	-
Visits from Islands	42	15	-

Number in Sample 57

369 It is the migrant, through his kin, who maintains the closest cultural links between town and country in Tonga. As considerably more than a half of the town's population is so involved, it is not surprising that rural and peasant modes and concepts continue to flow

[423 cont.]

175 running along the shore. The hills which were low, and not so high
175 above the level of the sea as the Isle of Wight, were agreeably
133 adorned with small clumps of trees scattered at some distance, and
137 the intermediate ground appeared covered with herbage, like many
175 parts of England. It was not long before we perceived some of the
609 inhabitants busied in launching several canoes, and paddling
175 towards us. We threw a rope into one of these canoes which ran up
609 close to us, and one of the three people in her came on board, and
431
201 presented a root of the intoxicating pepper-tree of the South Sea Islands, touched our noses with his like the New Zeelanders, in sign of friendship, and then sat down on the deck without speaking a word. The captain presented him with a nail, upon which he immediately held it over his own head, and pronounced fagafetai,
175 which was probably an expression of thanksgiving. He was naked
291 to the waist, but from thence to the knees he had a piece of cloth wrapped about him, which seemed to be manufactured much like that of Taheitee, but was covered with a brown colour, and a strong glue,
175 which made it stiff and fit to resist the wet. His stature was
142 middle-sized, and his lineaments were mild and tolerably regular.
175 His colour was much like that [424] of the common Taheitians (9), that is, of a clear mahogany or chesnut brown; his beard was cut short or shaven, and his hair was black, in short frizzled curls, burnt as it were at the tips.

142
302 9. As I shall frequently mention the inhabitants of
(128) Taheitee, and of the Society Islands, in comparison with other islanders, it will be proper to observe, that since the natives both of Taheitee and of the Society Islands, are perfectly alike in most respects, I shall indifferently call a custom Taheitian, or usual at the Society Islands, which is common to them both. Therefore, unless I expresly put these terms in contradistinction to each other, I wish to have them understood in general as synonymous.

[424 cont.]

000 burnt as it were at the tips. He had three circular spots on each
175 304 arm, about the size of a crown piece, consisting of several concentric
[171] circles of elevated points, which answered to the punctures of the
Taheitians, but were not blacked; besides these, he had other black
[301] punctures on his body. A small cylinder was fixed through two holes
in the lap of his ear, and his left hand wanted the little finger.
175 He continued his silence for a considerable while, but some others,
609 201 who ventured on board soon after him, were of a more communicative
124 turn, and after having performed the ceremony of touching noses,
175 spoke a language which was unintelligible to us at that time. In
the mean while we arrived at the N.W. point of the island, where we
struck soundings on a good bottom, in an open road, and let go our
175 anchors about nine in the morning. We were presently surrounded by
439 a number of canoes, each containing three or four [425] people,
175 who offered great quantities of their cloth for sale. The canoes
501 were small, about fifteen feet long, very sharp built, and decked
[171] or covered at each extremity. Most of them had out-riggers made of
poles, like the small canoes at Taheitee, but the workmanship of
these boats was infinitely preferable, as they were joined together
with an exactness which surprised us, and the whole surface had
[171] received an excellent polish. Their paddles had short broad blades,
something like those of Taheitee, but more neatly wrought, and of
175 better wood. They made a great deal of noise about us, every one
439 shewing what he had to sell, and calling to some one of us, who
175 happened to look towards them. Their language was not unpleasing,
[609] and whatever they said, was in a singing kind of tone. Many were
[565] bold enough to come on board, without expressing the least
[431] [201]

[425 cont.]

175
609 hesitation, and one of these seemed to be a chief, or a man of some
565 quality, and was accordingly treated with a number of presents,
[431]
[201] which he severally laid on his head, when he received them, saying
fagafetai every time. Our English cloth and linen he admired most,
and iron wares in the next degree. His behaviour was very free and
unconcerned; for he went down into the cabin, and whereever^ we
175 thought fit to conduct him. He likewise told us, upon our enquiry,
101 that the island near which we lay at anchor, (the same which
124 Tasman called Middleburg) was called Ea-Oowhe among his country-men;
and that the [426] other to the north (or Tasman's Amsterdam island)
bore the name of Tonga-Tabboo. We consulted several of the natives,
in order to have greater certainty on this point, and always
received the same names in answer.

175 After breakfast, the captains went on shore with us and the
123 chief, who had continued on board all that time. A bed of coral
175
123 rocks surrounded the coast, towards the landing-place; but many
609 canoes occupied the deep channels between these rocks, and a great
[133] number of inhabitants in them as well as on the shore, shouted for
[439] joy at our approach. The canoes immediately came along side the boat,
[431] and the natives threw great bales of cloth into it, without asking
for any thing in return; while many of both sexes swam about perfectly
naked, holding up some trifles, such as rings of tortoise-shell,
fish-hooks of mother of pearl, and the like, for sale. As soon as
we could make way through the throng of canoes, we approached as
near as possible to the shore, and were carried to it out of our boat,
175 for which the natives very readily offered their backs. The people
609 thronged about us with every expression of friendship, and offered
431

^ [Sic—Analyst.]

[426 cont.]

175
609 a few fruits, with a variety of arms and utensils. The cordial
[431] reception which we met with, was such as might have been expected from a people well acquainted with our good intentions, and accustomed to the transitory visits of European ships. But these kind
[648] islanders had never seen Europeans among them, and could only have heard [427] of Tasman who visited the adjacent Amsterdam island, by imperfect tradition. Nothing was therefore more conspicuous in their whole behaviour than an open, generous disposition, free from any mean distrust. This was confirmed by the appearance of a great number of women in the croud, covered from the waist downwards, whose
114 looks and smiles welcomed us to the shore. Mr. Hodges designed this memorable interview in an elegant picture, which has been engraved for captain Cook's account of this voyage. The same candour with which I have made it a rule to commend the performances of this ingenious artist, whenever they are characteristic of the objects which he meant to represent, obliges me to mention, that this piece, in which the execution of Mr. Sherwin cannot be too much admired, does not convey any adequate idea of the natives of Ea-oowhe or of Tonga-Tabbo. The plates which ornamented the history of captain Cook's former voyage, have been justly criticised, because they exhibited to our eyes the pleasing forms of antique figures and draperies, instead of those Indians of which we wished to form some idea. But it is also greatly to be feared, that Mr. Hodges has lost the sketches and drawings which he made from NATURE in the course of the voyage, and supplied the deficiency in this case, from his own elegant ideas. The connoisseur will find Greek contours and features in this picture, which have never existed in the South Sea.

[443 cont.]

175 I believe we should have been entirely left to ourselves if we had
123 609 not engaged two of them to become our conductors. The discharge of
our guns, and their effect, neither excited their admiration nor
their fear; but they always appeared kind and courteous towards us.
175 Their women were, in general, [444] reserved, and turned with
609 disgust from the immodest behaviour of ungovernable seamen, some of
832 them however appeared to be of easy virtue, and beckoned to our
people with lascivious gestures."

175 *The next morning early the captain went on shore with us,*
124 and presented the chief with a variety of garden seeds, explaining
431 by signs how useful they would prove to him. This was as yet our
175 124 only mode of conversation, though we had picked up a number of words,
197 which, by the help of the principles of universal grammar, and the
idea of dialects, we easily perceived had a great affinity with the
[114] language spoken at Taheitee and the Society Isles. O-Mai and
Mahine (or O-Hedeedee,) the two natives of Raietea and Borabora
who embarked with us, at first declared that the language was totally
new and unintelligible to them; however, when we explained to them
the affinity of several words, they presently caught the peculiar
modification of this dialect, and conversed much better with the
natives than we could have done after a long intercourse with them.
175 They were extremely well pleased with this country, but soon perceived
433 it defects, and told us there was but scanty provision of bread-fruit,
[231] few hogs and fowls, and no dogs, which was really the case. In return,
[276] however, they liked the abundance of sugar-canes and of intoxicating
[609] pepper, of which the drink had been offered to captain Cook.

[446 cont.]

175 and which he called Van Diemen's Road. Here we dropped an anchor
133 upon a rocky bank, and were immediately surrounded with numbers of
the natives, some in canoes, and some swimming, though we lay
175 about a quarter of a mile from the shore. We found them to be of
439 the same nation which inhabited Ea-oowhe, and their mercantile turn
prompted them to bring an immense quantity of their cloth, mats, nets,
utensils, arms, and ornaments, which they eagerly exchanged for
beads and nails. The ships were no sooner moored, than a prohibition
was made against purchasing curiosities, and the natives were told
to bring coco-nuts, bread-fruit, yams, and bananas, as well as hogs
and fowls, of which we had already learnt the names. We purchased
a small quantity of provisions the same evening, to give an example
to the rest of the inhabitants, who were obliged to take their merchandize
on shore again. The good effects of this step appeared
the next morning, when the natives returned from shore at day-break,
175 and had loaded their canoes with vegetables and fowls. Many of
609 them came on board as freely as if we had been old acquaintances,
175 and did not [447] appear to have the least idea of distrust. One
565 of them, a well made man, with a handsome open countenance, seemed
to have some authority among them, like the chief whom we had seen
[431] on Ea-oowhe. He descended into the cabin, acquainted us that his
name was Attahha, and received several presents, among which he
sat a high value on iron, and on red European broad cloth. After
175 breakfast he went on shore with us in the pinnace. A coral reef
133 surrounded the coast, at the distance of a musket-shot, and a
single narrow pass admitted us within it, where we found the water
so full of rocks and so shallow, that we were obliged to be carried
out of the boat.

[459 cont.]
175 An
565 excellent print, executed by Mr. Sherwin, has been made from his drawing,
114 which expresses the countenance of this chief, and the mild character
[181] of the whole nation, better than any description. It is inserted in
[201] [431] captain Cook's account of this voyage, and represents Attahha in the
action of thanksgiving, laying a nail on his head, which he had
175 received as a present. After breakfast, the captains and my father
565 prepared to return to the shore with him; but just as he was going
152 out of the cabin, he happened to see a Taheitian dog running about the
231 deck; at this sight he could not conceal his joy, but clapped his hands
on his breast, and turning to the captain, repeated the word goorree(15)

[197] 15. Ooree signifies a dog at Taheitee; and ghooree at New Zeeland.

[431] [460] near twenty times. We were much surprised to hear that he knew the
name of an animal which did not exist in his country, and made him a
present of one of each sex, with which he went on shore in an extasy of
175 joy. That the name of dogs should be familiar to a people, who are not
231 possessed of them, seems to prove either that this knowledge has been
propagated by tradition from their ancestors, who migrated hither from
other islands, and from the continent; or that they have had dogs upon
their island, of which the race, by some accident, is become extinct;
or lastly, that they still have an intercourse with other islands where
these animals exist.

126 I remained on board all this day, to arrange the collection of
plants and birds which we had made upon our first excursion, and which
175 was far from despicable, considering the small size of the island. The
501 natives continued to croud about our vessels in a number of canoes,
[481] whilst many were swimming to and from the shore, who were probably not
rich enough to possess a canoe. These embarkations were of different

[463 cont.]

175 admirable similarity of follies, the modes of the former inhabitants
302 of Europe are in full force among the modern antipodes; and our
171 insipid beaux, whose only pride is the invention of a new fashion,
are forced to share that slender honour with the uncivilized natives
of an isle in the South Seas.

175 My father did not return from his excursion till the evening,
having proceeded a considerable way towards the south end of the island.
At noon a smart shower had obliged him to retire into a plantation
175 and to take shelter in a house. Fortunately for him the owner of this
609 cottage was at home, and immediately invited him to sit down on the
352 clean mats which covered the floor, whilst he went to provide some
175 refreshments. In a few moments he brought several coco-nuts, and
609 having opened his oven under ground, took out some bananas and fishes,
252 354 wrapped in leaves, which were perfectly well done and delicious to
175 the taste. The manner of cooking provisions is therefore exactly
609 the same as at Taheitee; nor are the natives less inclinable to acts
171 of hospitality and benevolence, though these virtues were not so [464]
252 frequently exercised towards us, because we commonly found the
country quite deserted, the inhabitants being drawn together towards
175 our trading-place. The hospitable man was rewarded with nails and
431 beads, with which he performed the fagafetai, by laying them on his
439 head, and accompanied my father back to the beach, carefully carrying
201 a number of spears and clubs for him, which he had purchased on the
road.

175 The harmless disposition of these good people could not secure
648 them against those misfortunes, which are too often attendant upon
[171] all voyages of discovery.^A Our goods tempted them at least as much

A [6 October—Analyst.]

[466 cont.]

175 natives; but they all agreed in telling us, that he was their (19)

565 19. The same word in the Taheitee dialect is pronounced
197 Aree.

Areeghee or king. They added that his name was Latoo-Nipooroo, of
175 which we concluded [467] that the former part (Latoo) was a title,
197 it being same which Schouten and Le Maire, the Dutch navigators in
171 the year 1616, found at the Cocos, Traytors, and Horne islands,
[565] which are situated in this neighbourhood, only a few degrees to the northward (20). We were confirmed in this opinion by the great

20. See Dalrymple's Historical Collection of Voyages and Discoveries in the South Pacific Ocean, 2 vols. quarto, 1771. London. Vol. II. p. 27, 28, &c.

correspondence of the vocabularies, which these intelligent seamen have left us, with the language which was spoken at Tonga-Tabboo, and still more so by the entire similarity in the behaviour and
175 customs of these islanders. The captains walked up to the Latoo,
565 and made him a number of presents, which he received with so much
431 gravity and seeming indifference, as bordered upon stupidity. Amongst
609 other things they put a shirt on him, with a great deal of trouble,
[157] because his behaviour was most aukwardly passive. He did not return any thanks for the presents which he received, till an old woman sitting behind him, had repeatedly excited him to express his
[201] gratitude. Upon this he held each separate article over his head, and pronounced the word fagafetai, like the meanest of his subjects.
175 The priest, who had led our captains to the places of worship, on the
565 first day after our arrival, was seated in the same circle, and drank
276 vast quantities of the intoxicating pepper-water(21), which was
415

[467 cont.]

175
565 21. Called awa at Taheitee, and kawa at Tonga-Tabboo,
276 and Horne Island,

415 [468] served in little square cups made of banana-leaves curiously folded.
175 At his desire, we were very politely presented with this dainty
276 beverage, and in pure civility tasted of it. It had a nauseous in-
[565]
[609] sipid taste, which was afterwards followed by a strong pungency,
175 and its colour was somewhat milky. The holy man took such large and
565 frequent draughts of this stuff every evening, as to become perfectly
[276] intoxicated. No wonder then that his memory failed him, when he
[142] was at prayer (see p. 454)^A that his whole habit of body was lean
and scabby, his face wrinkled, and his eyes red, and "purging thick
amber (22)." He had great authority among all the people, and a
number of servants attended to supply him with replenished cups.
[431] The presents which he received from us, he retained in his own
custody, whereas Attagha and several other chiefs, gave up to
their superiors whatever the captains had presented to them. The
priest had a daughter, who received many presents from our people.
[142] She was extremely well featured, and fairer than most of the women
of this country, who seemed to pay her some degree of deference. A
fairer complexion, and softer features than those of the common people,
are the natural effects of an easy inactive life, unexposed to the
blaze of a tropical sun, and pampered with a profusion of the best
000 productions of the country. Must we not conclude therefore that the
beginnings of luxury will be introduced even here under the cloak of
[469] religion, and that another nation will be added to the many
dupes of voluptuous priest-craft? So small a spark as the cunning

22. Shakespeare.

^A [See pp. 43-44 of HRAF manuscript—Analyst.]

[*478 cont.*]

175 for water, and the master had been sent to the eastward to survey
122 312 Maria Bay, and the low isles which shelter that harbour. The situation
175 of these islands he found very exactly represented in the charts
136 of the ever accurate Tasman, and on one of them where he landed,
he saw an astonishing number of speckled water-snakes, with flat
tails, which are harmless, and distinguished in the system of
175 Linnaeus, by the name of *colubri laticaudati*. In our branch we
126 had not been unsuccessful, this little island having afforded us
137 several new plants, among which was a new species of jesuit's bark,
or *cinchona*, [479] of which the bitter bark may perhaps be equally
175 efficacious with that of Peru. We also collected several birds
231 unknown before, and purchased some live species, particularly of
[126] [439] the parrot and pigeon tribe, of the natives, who seem to be very
[136] expert fowlers. But it did not appear to us, that the pigeons,
[554] which many carried perched on crooked sticks, were marks of
[171] distinction, though Schouten at Horne Island where the same custom
175 prevails, is of that opinion (25). In the last boat which
609 had brought our people on board in the evening, the Latoo or king
had sent a great quantity of vegetables, together with a whole hog
roasted, or dressed under ground, as a present to the captain. In
the morning therefore, we embarked early in the pinnace, and rowed
[152] to the shore to make a present in return. We found the Latoo sitting
at a little distance from the beach; and captain Cook gave him
a shirt, a saw, a hatchet, a brass kettle, and several articles
of less moment, all which he received with sullen gravity;
this deportment he never varied, except once, when he was seen to
smile as he conversed with Attagha.

565 431 25. See Mr. Dalrymple's Historical Collection, vol. II. p. 46.

[173 cont.]

342 eight or nine feet; but the walls, which were not perpendicular,
175 but converged towards the bottom, were not above three or four feet
from the ground, and very neatly made of reeds. The roof converged
into a ridge at the top; so that the section of the house resembled a
pentagon. It was thatched, and the roof projected beyond the sloping
walls of the house. In one of the long sides there was always an
opening about two feet square, and eighteen inches from the ground,
which served instead of a door. The length of the house never exceeded
353 thirty feet, and the breadth was [174] commonly eight or nine. The
262 inside of these houses was always filled with large roots of yams,
175 which seem to be the chief support of the natives. To sleep upon
519 175 them must be extremely uncomfortable; and yet a few mats are only
spread over them at night, which custom has made acceptable to these
[352] people. Those narrow little stools, on which the Taheitians rest the
head, are extremely frequent here, and serve the same purpose. We also
342 175 observed several open sheds, on a few posts, like some which we had
seen at Tonga-Tabboo. These were laid out with mats, and seemed to be
609 intended for their abode in the day-time. In our ramble we passed by
175 a number of these habitations, but saw very few inhabitants, they being
mostly at the trading place. Those whom we met were always very civil,
and bowed their heads, saying, lelei (good), woa (friend), or some
such word, to mark their good temper and disposition. They were our
conductors; they brought us flowers from the highest trees, and birds
out of the water; they often pointed out the finest plants to us, and
taught us their names; we needed only to show them a plant of which we
wished to have specimens, and they would go to any distance to procure it.
● [431] Coco-nuts and shaddocks they readily offered to us; and willingly carried

[174 cont.]

609 great loads for us; a nail, a bead, or even a small rag of cloth,
175 being considered as a valuable present in return. In a word, they
[431] were on all occasions ready to oblige us.

133 [175] In the course of our walk we found a large lake or lagoon
175 of salt-water, at the north end of the island, which at one place reached within a few yards of the sea. It was about three miles long, and one wide. Three little islands full of trees, arranged in most picturesque manner, served to ornament this fine piece of water, of which the shores also captivated the eye by their variety and beauty. The inverted landscape on the water, rendered this scene still more beautiful, especially as our point of view was an eminence, where many tall trees and thick shrubberies screened us from the sun.

133 No island, which we had hitherto visited, had offered so great
137 variety of views to us in so small a space; nay, we had no where found
175 such abundance of beautiful flowers, so agreeably contrasting their various tints, and mingling their sweet scents to perfume the air.
136 The lake was full of wild-ducks, and the woods and shores abounded with
439 pigeons, parroquets, rails, and small birds, which the natives brought
175 for sale.

439 At noon we returned to the trading place, where captain Cook had
175 purchased a great quantity of fruit and roots, a few fowls, and one or two small pigs. When we arrived on board, we found they had been equally successful there in the purchase of provisions. The whole poop was loaded with shaddocks, which we found a most delicious fruit, of excellent flavour; and of yams we had laid in such a quantity, [176] that we eat of them every day for several weeks afterwards instead of biscuit. Arms and utensils, the usual articles of trade of these

437 Persons providing services and vendors of crafts and food frequently
431 try to keep their transactions on a gift-exchange basis so that the
443 transaction is understood to be two persons giving each other gifts
rather than one principal paying the other. The "seller" benefits in
two ways from this type of transaction: he at least partially avoids
being identified as a "business-boy" and he often materially benefits
because the return gift is above what could be asked as a price. In
this type of transaction the measurement function of money is disregarded,
[439] unless the return gift is considered too small. Handicrafts are often
sold by this method, befuddling tourists who wish to equate a unit of
money with a certain amount of merchandise.

437 432 Transactions involving money are *fakatau* transactions. 'To sell' is *fakatau atu*, *atu* meaning 'away' or 'from'; 'to buy' is *fakatau mai*, *mai* meaning 'toward'. 'To pay' is *totongi* and as a noun means 'price'; *mahu'inga* also means 'price'.

431 Anything given (*foaki*) without explicit expectation of a return is
a gift (*me'a'ofa*) which literally translated means 'thing of love'. At
times gifts are legitimately solicited by request (*kole*) but built into
such a request is the implicit understanding that the solicitor must be
ready to meet a future request of the person from whom he has solicited.
[554] There is more prestige in giving than in receiving and one who is al-
[558] ways asking for gifts without returning the favor suffers loss of pres-
tige, but he does not usually lose his right to keep making requests.
This mode of transaction is by far the most frequent non-monetary type
and is a form of what Sahlins calls "generalized reciprocity" (1965: 147).

431 Such a transaction is a process in which the gift can be either solicited or offered, but solicitiing a gift implies a stronger obligation to reciprocate than does a gift freely offered.

426 Borrowing is based on the same transaction as just discussed and is only distinguished by the fact that the item solicited is returned. The Tongan verb nō is translated as 'to borrow'. This is the mode of transaction which plays a dominant role in the circulation of durable and/or capital goods such as gardening tools, looking utensils, and fishing paraphernalia.

Another from of borrowing is a collateralized loan. Fakamo'ua is and type of loan but is primarily used to describe a loan backed by collateral; it is also the term used for a charge account in the context of market transactions. The collateralized loan is a relatively rare form of transaction but an example is as follows: Palu needed a pig to meet his obligations for the funeral of a high ranking relative. He had no pigs at that time so he went to his neighbor and asked to borrow one. The neighbor agreed to loan Palu a pig, but only if Palu would agree to bring two tapas and also pay $T10.00 at the end of a month. Palu agreed, brought the tapas, and took the pig. At the end of the month he paid his neighbor the agreed amount for the pig and reclaimed his tapas. This form of transaction is obviouly based more on distrust than trust and is, therefore, antithetic to the principles involved in most reciprocity transactions.

437
438 Balanced reciprocity or trade is also a rather rare form of transaction and is almost completely limited to the context of group exchange.

437 438 two groups of goods are stacked on the ground. Speeches are appropriate
177 628 before the exchange with each group praising the offerings of the other.

[537] Below I have listed the items exchanged on the occasion mentioned earlier.

Tongatapu Village Gave	Ha'apai Village Gave
300 sheets of 9-foot corrugated iron	11 40-foot *fibu* 'fine mats'
21 full length tapas	24 15-foot " "
24 bars of laundry soap	38 12-foot " "
1 box of cabin biscuits	29 10-foot " "
1 sewing machine	67 single thickness mats
12 dinner plates	40 *papa* 'floor mats'
2 bed covers	8 *ta'ovala* 'woven waistbands'
piece goods	200 salt fish
$T26.00 in cash	2 goats

With the exception of the tapa given by the Tongatapu group, all of their goods were non-traditional items available through the market economy. All of the Ha'apai goods were indigenously produced, and the bulk of the goods were fine mats, a traditional item of wealth and prestige.

Redistribution

651 554 First fruits (*polopolo*) are given to nobles and high ranking female
431 relatives, both sisters and fathers' sisters. This is particularly appropriated at the time of the first harvest of a yam garden (*pa'ala*),
651 but also for other garden products, fish, and meat. In pre-contact
178 Tonga a society-wide system of redistribution was based on the giving of
431 first fruits, collected and dispensed at an annual religious ceremony
431 178 769 574 (Sahlins 1950: 24-25). In modern Tonga redistribution exists in the

431 178 764 [574] context of feasting; the most obvious example is the Tongan funeral.
Mourners bring pigs, vegetables, and bread which are prepared by low
ranking kinsmen of the deceased. Some of the food is consumed at the
funeral, but most is divided into individual parcels and given to the
[565] mourners as they leave. Nobles still possess the power to amass large
amounts of food for feasting occasions by demanding it of their relatives and the commoners who live on their estates.

Parameters of Reciprocity

128 Sample B as described in Chapter I consists of 604 exchange events.
571 All of these exchange events can be considered as instances of reciprocity. Here reciprocity only means that the exchange event is based on the social relationship of the principals involved, rather than on an economic relationship. This sample of 604 exchanges will be used in Chapter VI to establish the behavioral pattern found in kinship reciprocity. Below I will describe certain other characteristics of the sample.

431 It is quite acceptable to solicit gifts and 'to ask for a gift or some other favor' is *kole*. In 26 percent of the 604 cases recorded the gift was solicited and in 74 percent of the cases the item was offered. In 7 percent of the cases, the transactions were associated with some "special occasion" such as wedding, funeral, or some type of celebration feast. The great proportion of these transactions, then, were
[571] made in the course of daily patterns of interaction rather than in the
context of extraordinary events.

● 431 In Table 16A I have presented a breakdown on the types of items involved in the exchanges recorded. About 63 percent of the exchanges involved some type of food, and garden products had the highest frequency of involvement. This category includes vegetables and tree [426) fruits including the coconut. Money was involved as either a gift or [437) a loan in about 9 percent of the cases. The category "other" includes a wide range of otherwise unclassifiable items such as fuels, soap and bleach, and European foodstuffs other than meat and fish.

Some other sample characteristics are that 71 percent of the items exchanged were domestically-produced goods, 20 percent were imported goods, and 9 percent consist of cash. About 79 percent of the items exchanged were consumable goods as opposed to 21 percent durable items. [426) Durables are frequently loaned rather than given, but there is no terminological distinction made between loaning and giving in the reciprocity system.

In about 87 percent of the transactions the informants said there was no explicit expectation of a return gift. This does not mean the receiver is under no obligation. First, all adults are expected to participate in the reciprocity system as both givers and receivers. Second, individuals maintain a loose reckoning of the balance of exchange between themselves and other persons. Between non-kinsmen there is an [609) expectation of balance in flow of goods between two persons. For indi- [626) viduals this means that if he does not give as much as he receives, he will probably become the subject of gossip, and lose some of his rights [554] to solicit gifts. A person who gives more than he receives obligates

A, [See p. 100--Analyst]

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 101]

431

TABLE 16

Types of Items Exchanged

Type of Item	Frequency	Percent
Fish	99	16.39
Meat	56	0.27
Garden Products	223	36.92
Household Utensils	25	4.13
Cloth or Clothing	12	1.99
Tools	15	2.48
Tobacco	52	8.61
Money	56	9.29
Other	66	10.93
Total	604	100.00

431 other people to him; this situation provides both security and some
554 degree of personal power.

431 To assess the combined influence of social distance and geographic
571 distance on exchange, each exchange was categorized as to whether the
602 principals were kinsmen or not, and as to whether they resided in the
same village or not. These two variables are cross-tabulated and presented in Table 17.^A There is a strong tendency for principals residing in different villages also to be kinsmen (Compare cells C and D). However, the reverse is not true: There is a strong tendency for principals
128 residing in the same village to be non-kinsmen. This conclusion
431 is drawn from the statistics presented below the table. Q measures the
571 one-way association present and is fairly high, while phi, measuring
602 two-way association, is considerably lower. Where λa is .29 when kinship is predicted on the basis of knowledge of location, it is only .05 when location is predicted by knowledge of kinship. λ which considers both of these possibilities is .17, intermediate of the λa values.

121 Marshall Sahlins (1965: 149-153) offers an hypothesis suggesting
431 that as geographic distance increases, social distance decreases. I
571
602 cannot directly relate my data to his hypothesis as my data show only the frequency distribution within one type of reciprocity. Sahlins' hypothesis requires data fitting his tripartate typology of reciprocity-general, balance, and negative reciprocity. However, my data do illustrate that kinship is an important criterion for selection of exchange partners from among persons residing in different villages.

A.[See p.102--Analyst]

TABLE 17

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Social and Geographic Distance

	Kinsmen	Non-kinsmen	
Same Village	A 150	B 236	386
Different Villages	C 160	D 58	218
	310	294	604

Cell	Observed	Expected	o-e	$\frac{(o-e)^2}{e}$
A	150	198.1	-48.1	11.68
B	236	187.9	+48.1	12.31
C	160	111.9	+48.1	20.68
D	58	106.1	-48.1	21.81
		(Significant at $<$.001)		66.48=X^2

Θ = .34

Q = .63

λ_a = .29 (Kinship is dependent variable)

λ_a = .05 (Location is dependent variable)

λ = .17

CHAPTER VI

IDEOLOGY AND BEHAVIOR

128 121 In this chapter I will present the conscious model of kinship reciprocity and compare it with the patterns of reciprocity I observed in adoption transactions and in the transfer of material items. The procedure will be to describe the conscious model, see if it is predictive of behavior, and then discuss the results of such a comparison.

The Conscious Model

602 554 The basic characteristic of the conscous model is that it describes the rights and duties existing between ego and the several kin categories, and bases the distribution of rights and duties on the concept of kin ranking. 602 554 114 Although the conscious model I present here is based on primary data that I obtained, other researchers in Tonga have noticed and recorded similar data. E.W. Gifford (1929: 17-19) discusses the effect of relative ranking on behavior, Ernest and Pearl Beaglehole discusss some implications of kin ranking for kinship reciprocity (1941: 76-78), and Adrienne Kaeppler, after discussing kinship rank, said

> [612] [431] [437] The economic implications of status within the system of exchanges among the kāinga can be characterized as indirect reciprocity, i.e., goods and services go from ego and his siblings to his patrilateral relatives, while he exacts goods and services from his matrilateral relatives (1971: 179).

However, none of these researchers has presented any data on exchange that would indicate whether the conscious model is actually reflected

602 554 (114) by behavior or not.

602 554 183 431 437 Below I have listed the kinship dyads and described the ideal behavior for each dyad as it exists in the conscious model. The kin terms are defined and discussed in Chapter III.

Fa'e-Tama: A woman should treat those she refers to as tama in a protective and loving manner; she should look after their physical and emotional needs with only tama's well-being in mind. In return tama should behave in a loving and respectful manner toward fa'e. Women should not punish tama with more than mild physical abuse. Fa'e is of lower rank than tama and the flow of goods should be from fa'e to tama.

Fa'e Tangata-'Ilamutu: 'Ilamutu has an almost unrestrained access to the goods and services controlled by fa'e tangata, and may act in a demeaning and overbearing manner toward him. Fa'e tangata should submit to the demands of 'ilamutu. Fa'e tangata is of lower rank than 'ilamutu and the flow of goods and services should be from fa'e tangata to 'ilamutu.

Tamai-Foha: Tamai is responsible for the moral welfare and direction of foha; toward that end he demands respect and obedience of foha. [784] This relationship is marked by several prohibitions which indicate a discouragement of familiarity between the principals. Foha cannot wear the clothing of tamai, cannot use his personal possessions, must not eat from the same serving of food, nor sleep on tamai's bed. Foha should not stand to speak to a tamai who is sitting, and should not interrupt tamai while he is speaking to others. The flow of goods and services should be from foha to tamai.

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Tamai-*'Ofefine*: This relationship is generally the same as *tamai*-*foha* except *tamai* should be less severe toward *'ofefine* than toward *foha*. The flow of goods and services should be from *'ofefine* to *tamai*.

Mehekitanga-*Fakafotu*: *Mehekitanga* should always be shown respect; she is ego's highest ranking relative. *Mehekitanga* is responsible for teaching *fakafotu* respect and appropriate Tongan custom. Familiarity is strongly discouraged between *fakafotu* and *mehekitanga*. Any time that *fakafotu* catches fish, harvests his garden, or kills a pig, he should give *mehekitanga* a portion. The flow of goods and services, then, is from *fakafotu* to *mahekitanga*.

Tokoua-*Tokoua*: This relationship is more complicated than other kin dyads because ego's *tokoua* may be either above him or below him in rank. The key to ego's relationship with his *tokoua* is the relative rank of the connecting, consanguineal link so that *tokoua* related patrilaterally are higher ranking than ego, and those related matrilaterally are of lower rank than ego.

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Ego should defer to FZC and FBC, and MSC and MBC should defer to ego. *Tokoua* of the same parents are ranked relative to each other according to age, but the ideal flow of goods and services within the sibling group is balanced. Younger siblings give to older siblings because of relative rank but older siblings are obligated to assist younger siblings also. In this relationship, then, the direction specified for material flow is from matrilateral *tokoua* to ego to patrilateral *tokoua*.

602 Tuofefine-Tuonga'ane: Tuonga'ane must show respect toward his
554 tuofefine and several prohibitions exist in this avoidance relationship.
183
431 Tuonga'ane cannot sleep in the same house as their tuofefine, they can-
437
[784] not speak of sexulaly-related matters, and tuonga'ane and tuofefine
should not walk or talk alone together. Physical affection should not
[593] be present in this relationship. Boys and men are responsible for the
welfare of the sisters and should willingly assist them with labor and
goods. So the flow of goods, then, is from tuonga'ane to tuofefine.

Kui-Mokopuna: This should be a relationship of mutual understanding and affection. There are no special restrictions or avoidances, and no direction of reciprocity is specified.

602 This scheme of reciprocity as set forth in the conscious model is
554 in one sense not reciprocity at all. That is, if only the flow of goods
431
437 and services between individuals is considered, the flow is very much
in a one-way direction. However, if the entire kindred of each ego is
considered, a balance emerges where at least in theory ego would have
as many persons to receive from as to give to. In the conscious model
of kin reciprocity, then, ego is the center of an activity system in
which decisions concerning the flow of goods and services are ideally
made according to ego's kinship rank relative to other individuals within
128 the system. Now I will present the patterns of behavior actually present
within that system by using the data recorded in observing the exchanges
of goods and in the exchanges of children.

Comparison of Ideals and Behavior

602 431 437 The conscious model pertains only to the flow of goods between kinsmen, and in the sample of exchange events involving material items, sample B, there are 267 events in which exact genealogical information could be recorded. This sample is presented in Table 18.[A] The adoption
[597] transactions provide another sample of 81 exchange events. In Table 19[B] both samples are presented in percentage figures to facilitate comparison.
128 In Table 19 each kin dyad is presented and the direction of flow of goods and children is indicated. Where (I) appears in the table, it marks the ideal direction of exchange.

Now I want to discuss each dyad in turn and will do so by referring to the number corresponding to the dyad in Table 19. In dyad number one
602 431 the flow of goods is predominantly in the ideal direction, but all adop-
437 183 tion transactions involving this relationship are in the opposing di-
597 rection. For the adoption transactions the demographic fact that the *tama* in these transactions would be the only ones in possession of young children almost precludes exchange of children in the ideal direction.

In dyad number two which is the 'MB'-'ZC' relationship, there is a lower frequency than one would expect, yet this relationship is one in which exchange in the ideal direction is of paramount importance in the conscious model. The conscious model does not specify number but it does seem to imply a high frequency. The ideal direction of exchange does not predominate in a comparison with the opposing direction. The cases of adoption involving this relationship are too few to come to any conclusion except to note that this dyad is not frequently involved

A.[See pp. 108-110--Analyst] B. [See pp. 111-112--Analyst]

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 113]

TABLE 18

Exchanges of Goods by Genealogical Ties

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Relationship of Giver to Receiver	Kin Category of Giver	Number of Exchanges	Percent of Exchanges	Kin Category of Receiver	Conforms to Conscious Model
B	Tuonga'ane	22	7.0	Tuofefine	+
FBS	"	1	.3	"	+
FZS	"	5	1.6	"	+
MMBSS	"	1	.3	"	+
BS	Fakafotu	1	.3	Mehekitanga	+
FBSS	"	1	.3	"	+
FBD	"	1	.3	"	+
FZSS	"	1	.3	"	+
ZS	Tama	2	.6	Fa'e	+
FZDS	"	1	.3	"	+
S	"	1	.3	"	+
Z	Tuofefine	35	11.2	Tuonga'ane	-
FBD	"	1	.3	"	-
FFBSD	"	1	.3	"	-
MBD	"	3	1.0	"	-
BS	Foha	7	2.3	Tamai	+
FBSS	"	1	.3	"	+
S	"	4	1.3	"	+
BD	'Ofefine	3	1.0	"	+
D	"	13	4.2	"	+
ZS	'Ilamutu	10	3.2	Fa'e Tangaga	-

TABLE 18 (Continued)

Exchanges of Goods by Genealogical Ties

602
431
437

Relationship of Giver to Receiver	Kin Category of Giver	Number of Exchanges	Percent of Exchanges	Kin Category of Receiver	Conforms to Conscious Model
ZD	'Ilamutu	1	.3	Fa'e Tangata	-
MBDD	"	1	.3	"	-
F	Tamai	11	3.5	Foha	-
FB	"	7	2.3	"	-
FFBS	"	1	.3	"	-
F	"	20	6.4	'Ofefine	-
FB	"	2	.6	"	-
FZ	Mehekitanga	1	.3	Fakafotu	-
FFZD	"	1	.3	"	-
FMZD	"	1	.3	"	-
M	Fa'e	7	2.3	Tama	+
MZ	"	8	2.6	"	+
MMBD	"	1	.3	"	+
MMZD	"	1	.3	"	+
MB	Fa'e Tangata	6	1.9	'Ilamutu	+
MFZS	" "	2	.6	"	+
FM	Kui	2	.6	Mokopuna	ns*
FF	"	1	.3	"	"
FFB	"	1	.3	"	"
DS	Mokopuna	1	.3	"	"

TABLE 18 (Continued)

Exchanges of Goods by Genealogical Ties

602
431
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Relationship of Giver to Receiver	Kin Category of Giver	Number of Exchanges	Percent of Exchanges	Kin Category of Receiver	Conforms to Conscious Model
B	Tokoua	31	10.0	Tokoua	ns*
FZD	"	1	.3	"	-
Z	"	17	5.4	"	ns*
FBS	"	8	2.6	"	-
FZS	"	5	1.6	"	-
FFBSS	"	1	.3	"	-
MBS	"	1	.3	"	+
MZS	"	4	1.3	"	+
MFBSS	"	1	.3	"	+
MMZDS	"	2	.6	"	+
MBD	"	1	.3	"	+
MZD	"	2	.6	"	+
MFZDD	"	1	.3	"	-
Total		267	100.0		

* Not specified by conscious model

73: Morton E-5 (1970-1971) 1977 OU9 Tonga Puke OU9

TABLE 19

Summary of Comparison of Conscious Model with Exchange Behavior*

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Dyad and Direction		Frequency of Material Exchanges	Frequency of Adoption Transactions	Total for Dyad (Material)	Total for Dyad (Material)	Behavior Conforms to Conscious Model (Material)	Behavior Conforms to Conscious Model (Adoptions)
1. Fa'e - Tama	(I)**	7	0	8	34	+	-
Tama - Fa'e		12	34				
2. Fa'e Tangata - 'Ilamutu	(I)	4	1	7	1	-	+
'Ilamutu - Fa'e Tangata		4	0				
3. Foha - Tamai	(I)	4	0	12	0	-	0
Tamai - Foha		7	0				
4. 'Ofefine - Tamai	(I)	6	0	14	0	-	0
Tamai - 'Ofefine		8	0				
5. Fakafotu - Mehekitange	(I)	1	5	3	5	0	+
Mehekitange - Fakafotu		1	0				
6. Tokoua - Tokoua (Real)		18	24	18	24	0	0
" " (Paternal)		6	0	10	3	-	+
" " (Maternal)	(I)	4	3				
7. Tuonga'ane - Tuofefine	(I)	11	24	26	33	-	+
Tuofefine - Tuonga'ane		15	9				

602
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TABLE 19 (Continued)

Summary of Comparison of Conscious Model with Exchange Behavior*

Dyad and Direction	Frequency of Material Exchanges	Frequencey of Adoption Transactions	Total for Dyad (Material)	Total for Dyad (Adoptions)	Behavior Conforms to Conscious Model (Material)	Behavior Conforms to Conscious Model (Adoptions)
8. Kui-Mokopuna	1	0	0	0	0	0
Mokopuna-Kui	1	0				

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* All figures in percentages. Frequency based on 267 material exchanges and 81 adoption transactions.

** (I) indicates ideal model.

602 431 437 183 597 in adoption.

Dyad three is another instance where the ideal flow of goods does not predominate. No adoption transactions involved principals in this relationship. With a slightly higher frequency of exchange, dyad number four is very similar to dyad three.

Dyad five is another relationship where a high frequency of exchange is implied by the conscious model but is not present in the behavior pattern. The flow of goods appears to be balanced in this relationship. The flow of children in the adoption transactions does conform to the direction specified in the ideal model, with 5 percent of adoptees being obtained from 'BC' and none being obtained from 'FZ'.

Transactions transpiring between siblings of the same sex are presented in dyad six, and the exchange of goods again indicates that the conscious model is not being followed. In the adoption sample, 3 percent of the adoptees were obtained from matrilateral cousins and none were obtained from patrilateral cousins; this does conform to the conscious model. Direction of exchange is not specified for children of the same parents and sex.

Again in dyad seven the direction of exchange of goods does not conform to the conscious model. However, in the adoption transactions the conformity of behavior to the specifications of the conscious model is better. In dyad nine no direction is specified and there is a low frequency of exchange.

In Table 20[A] all exchanges are recorded as to whether or not they conform to the conscious model. Overall the pattern of behavior does

[A] [See p.114--Analyst]

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 115]

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431
437
183
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TABLE 20

Conformity and Non-Conformity to Conscious Model by Percent

	Conforms	Does Not Conform	Not Specified*	Total
Goods	37	43	20	100
Children	33	43	24	100

* Direction not specified in the conscious model of kinship reciprocity.

602 431 437 183 597 [121] not conform to the direction of flow specified by the conscious model of kinship reciprocity. It is safe to say that knowledge of the conscious model does not allow correct prediction of exchange behavior. This means, then, that the conscious model considered alone improperly discribes kinship reciprocity.

602 431 437 593 What can the behavioral pattern tell us about kinship that is in contradistinction to the conscious model and what can it tell us about kinship? The behavioral pattern indicates that a large amount of exchange is taking place between persons related as parent and child or as siblings. In the sample of exchanges of goods 50 percent of the transactions involved principals who stood in one of these two relationships. [597] In the sample of adoptions 89 percent of all transactions were carried out between principals who were either parent and child or siblings. As discussed here the classificatory relationships are not included; therefore, a very small proportion of kinsmen are accounting for a high proportion of exchanges.

This relativly small group of kinsmen would roughly be about nine individuals. [162] (594) I am calculating this figure by considering that Tongan women tend to have seven children (Fiefia 1968: 18), and adding to that the two parents each individual would have, the average nuclear family would be nine persons. This is the group within which there is a high level of exchange. For each ego nine kinsmen would be at maximum about 10 percent of his total kinsmen, considering that each ego knows of and acknowledges kinship with at least ninety to one hundred kinsmen.

592 594 As described in Chapter III the Tongan household usually consists

592 of a nuclear family and this is the preferred form of household composition.
[594] Also pointed out earlier was the fact that the Tongan household
is the basic unit of production and consumption. It is the physical and
[861] social environment within which Tongans learn behavior and establish
592 patterns of behavior. The pattern of exchange indicates that the relationships
593 431 established within the household and the family of orientation
437 are maintained after the members of the household have dispersed and established
new households.

594 The emphasis on the nuclear family reflected by the patterns of
178 exchange may be a relatively recent alteration in Tongan life style, an
431 437 alteration that has resulted in a "lag" between the conscious model and
602 the new situation. For instance, the population of Puke as presently
[166] constituted has resulted from recent migrations that tend to break up
kin groupings larger than nuclear families. For the individual resident
of Puke this results in a limited range of kinsmen available with whom
to carry on reciprocity. This means, of course, that the physical distribution
of kinsmen may preclude operation of the conscious model for
certain individuals.

597 Comparing the adoption sample to the sample of goods, exchange also
858 produces information on the overriding solidarity of the nuclear family.
431 437 Children, of course, cannot be compared to goods in terms of value, but
[594] they are resources that can be weighed according to their relative social
importance. Children are by far much more important than goods, and this
is reflected in different patterns of exchange.[1]

597 602 125 In the village of Vaini where the adoption sample was obtained,

[1].[For footnote, see p.123--Analyst]

597 602 125 there were a total of eighty-four adoptions, three of which were cases
where non-kin had been principals in the adoption transactions. So
592 602 4 percent of adoption transactions involve non-kinsmen while the com-
431 437 parable percentage for the transfer of goods is 49 percent. As stated
above 50 percent of the exchanges in the sample involving material items
597 593 were between principals who were parent-child or sibling-sibling. The
431 437 comparable percentage figure for the adoption sample is 89 percent. I
[858] interpret this to mean that because children are more important resources
than are goods, they circulate within a much smaller, more closely rela-
ted group.

602 431 437 The other characteristic of the behavior pattern is that transac-
tion in terms of kin categories seems to be balanced rather than either
the higher ranking or lower ranking categories being favored. The only
explanation for this is that "balance" is an overriding concern in indi-
vidual strategies, not only as mentioned for relationships between non-
kinsmen but also between kinsmen. This situation of "balance" is not
[597] present in the adoption sample, but certain demographic factors charac-
teristic of Tongan adoption results in a one-way flow of adoptees that
still does not conform to the conscious model.

597 Tongans adopt children as young as possible and young adults will be the persons possessing young children. So in cross generation transfers of children, the principal in the youngest of the two generations will be the donating parent rather than the adopting parent. For instance, in the Fa'e-Tama dyad, fa'e would probably be at the end of her childbearing years or beyond her childbearing years. Tama would be a

121 relative wealth, friendship status, and religious affiliation of potential exchange partners. Obviously a number of variables could be proposed as possible components of a complete decision-making model, but the construction of such a model is beyond the purview of this study.

All of this discussion is speculative and must remain so, but it is appropriate to reconsider some of the discussion in Chapter I. The results of this study are strong confirmation of Levi-Strauss's statement, "For conscious models, which are usually known as 'norms' are by difinition very poor ones (explanation), since they are not intended to explain the phenomena but to perpetuate them" (1968: 281). It also seems that David Bidney's statement is accurate.

> In the sphere of the social sciences and human studies, this ideal truth represents a norm, or goal, of human potentialities, but does not correspond to any actual, historical cultural situation. Here too, cultural ideals are 'social facts' but they are facts of a different order from the empirical facts of a given culture (1955: 218-419).

Summary

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437 Tongan behavior in the activity system of exchange is not predictable by knowledge of the conscious model of kinship reciprocity. Instead, the basic characteristic of exchange behavior is reliance upon members of one's family of orientation as a continuing unit for resource sharing. The pattern of behavior also indicates that a balance flow of goods exists between kin categories rather than the one-way flow stipulated by the conscious model.

[114] The results of this study are contrary to the statements made about Tongan kinship reciprocity by Beaglehole and Kaeppler (cited above).

602 593 431 437 114 These authors apparently assumed that the conscious model of kinship reciprocity was an accurate summary of exchange behavior. Such a conclusion should only be made after checking the fit between behavior and the model.

121 Conscious models do not necessarily reflect behavior as they may not function to order empirical phenomena but rather establish order at another level of reality. Conscious models order the mind and its perception of the empirical world, not the empirical world itself.

revered gods) had been 'tired with the tardy movements of his 797
faithful worshippers, the Tonguese heathens, in reference to
making war upon the Christians [had] at length taken the matter 793
into his own hands and his weapons of war [were] to be drought 787
and storms . . . ' (Watkin, Journal, 21 Dec. 1826).

However, it is quite evident that the opposition raised by the 797
priests was not in any way comparable with that offered by the
chiefs. The honour and privileges that the priests had enjoyed in 793
the old order were nothing compared with those which the chiefs, 565
for instance, had enjoyed. But the fact that they threw their weight
behind the opposition of the chiefs was quite significant.

It was the chiefs who had most to lose from the encroaching 797
influence of the missionaries. Here lay the basis for their antagonism, and, because they had traditionally held all power in their 565
hands, their opposition was formidable and was clearly understood by the missionaries.

The missionaries' teaching that all men were equal in the sight of God, their belief that everyone was a sinner by nature and that in order to get to heaven everyone, irrespective of rank, had to submit to certain moral discipline, and their preaching that no one, chief or otherwise, had any right to appropriate to himself any property belonging to another, were particularly unpopular with the chiefs, since these doctrines tended to undermine their status, privileges and authority. Since almost every heathen custom, which the missionaries regarded as contrary to Christianity and civilisation and were determined to eradicate, played some part in upholding the dignity and privileges of the chiefs, it was inevitable that the majority of the chiefs should clash with the missionaries over the maintenance of these traditional customs.

The missionaries, for one reason or another, appeared to have 797
lacked the ability to differentiate between those customs which
were incompatible with Christian principles and those which were
contrary only to their own British middle-class moral standards.
For this reason they failed to appreciate the psychological and
social significance of some of the old customs and traditions to
the Tongans themselves. An example may be seen in the perpetual 764
conflict between the missionaries and the chiefs over the question 565
of *tukuofo*. This custom was performed at the funeral of any 431
[797]

79: Lātūkefu H,I, M-4,5 (1964-1965) 1974
(1822-1875)
OU9 Tonga OU9

764 member of a chiefly family. On such an occasion the people under
the rule of the chief concerned, his friends and relatives in par-
565 ticular, would bring gifts of *ngatu* (tapa cloth), mats of various
431 kinds, and articles of food and drink to him.

From the commoners' point of view, this was an expression of their love and respect for the deceased, sympathy for the bereaved, and also a manifestation of their regard and loyalty to their leader. For the relatives it provided an opportunity for an extended family gathering, where they learned to know each other personally, and also their various responsibilities to each other. The warmth of filial devotion and the strength of family ties were further kindled and strengthened on such occasions. The bereaved chiefs themselves were comforted. They also appreciated the fact that the commoners' (or rather their subjects') sorrow and devotion were being expressed in a practical way.

The chiefs were often reminded on such occasions of their
responsibilities to their people and this helped to maintain good
relationships between them and their people, all of which furthered
764 the maintenance of stability and order in the community. The
missionaries did not seem to understand, let alone to appreciate,
565 these implications. The fact that some of the *ngatu* and mats were
431 used to wrap up the deceased for burial, and that the food pre-
797 sented was prepared to feed the people present, caused the
missionaries to view the *tukuofo*, rather mistakenly, as an offering
to the dead.

Tukuofo was also regarded as a means used by the chiefs to accumulate wealth at the expense of the commoners. 'I wish to see the *tukuofo*—quite put down—' wrote John Thomas, 'but this is the craft by which many Tonga chiefs have their wealth. They would be glad to keep it up' (Thomas, Journal, 24 Dec. 1826). It may be pointed out that the chiefs did not demand the *tukuofo*. It came from the people quite spontaneously and freely and from a sense of responsibility.

797 Another point of conflict between the chiefs and the missionaries
565 was the chiefs' jealousy towards the rival for their authority.
The priests of the old order exercised power over the people
571 only during their brief periods of inspiration. For the most part
[792] they were, like the rest of the population, under the power of the
[787]

79: Lātūkefu H,I, M-4,5 (1964-1965) 1974
(1822-1875)
OU9 Tonga OU9

873 was very impressed by a school from the small village of Tofoa, conducted by a young woman who was trained by Amos. Young, in 1853, spoke glowingly of the results of school examinations at Nuku'alofa and in particular the school for young women of which the wife of the Chief Justice was both patron and teacher.

797 527 The Methodists in England belonged to that section of the English Dissent which held strong Sabbatarian views, and in Tonga the sacredness of the Sabbath was an integral part of the missionaries' teaching. Tongan converts accepted this aspect of the missionaries' teaching with all seriousness. They regarded it in the same spirit as they observed the traditional taboos. Referring to this reverence for the Sabbath in Tonga, Young (1854:268) wrote:

> Never had I previously observed such respect paid to the Sabbath of the Lord. The day appears to be exclusively devoted to religious services, and nothing meets the eye or ear infringing upon the sanctity of that blessed day, but everywhere incense and a pure offering seem to be presented to the Lord of Hosts. If the people are beheld coming from their habitations, it is that they may go up to the house of the Lord, and inquire in his holy temple. If a canoe is seen in the offing, it is conveying a Local Preacher to his appointment in some distant island, that he may preach unto the people Jesus. If noises occasionally fall upon the ear, they are not those of revelry and strife, but of holy praise and fervent prayer going up to heaven.

[642] Observing the sacredness of the Sabbath later became a part of the constitution of Tonga.

797 461 Consistent with their puritanical attitudes to work, the missionaries seriously promoted industrious habits and commerce. People were encouraged to cultivate their land, build better dwelling places, and produce coconut oil for sale. 797 431 Contribution to the mission was introduced and encouraged, as being part and parcel of the kind of life expected of converts to Christianity.

797 166 The many and diverse attractions of the mission activities led, among other things, to a redistribution of population in Tonga. Converts tended to move from their home areas to the centres where the missionaries resided, in order to attend the services and receive instruction in their new religion. Others moved into the

423 1). Since 1957, however, most of the remaining areas of Tonga have been subdivided by the Cadastral Survey, and the allocation of the new allotments will be described later.

423 The process of acquiring a vacant allotment has also been entangled with the problem of the power and influence of estate- 425 holders. On hereditary estates the titleholder has a statutory 565 right to be consulted before an allotment is registered by the Minister, and in practice the applicant must have a signed approval from the estate-holder before applying to the Minister. Although by law the objections of an estate-holder can be overruled by the Minister, few villagers would dare complain against a noble and, even if they did, the Minister apparently does not force registration if the estate-holder still does not approve. Land therefore cannot be acquired simply by applying to the Lands [431] Department. In practice on hereditary estates an applicant approaches the estate-holder or his representative for permission to use and register a tax allotment, having prepared the way with 423 gifts of food. If there is land to spare the applicant will probably be allowed to garden it, but will be told to apply for registration 425 in a year or so. One reason for the delay in approving registration is to ensure that the applicant works the land and meets 423 his responsibilities to the village. All too often, however, estate-holders have delayed registration for reasons of power and per- 425 sonal advantage. Since the Emancipation of 1862 the chiefs have 565 lost much of their power but those granted estates have retained a relatively strong position through their control over the alloca- 661 tion of land. Delaying registration, and threatening to expel [178] those using unregistered allotments, ensures that those hoping to get land, or with sons or other close relatives hoping to get land, will conform to the wishes of the noble and provide food and other gifts on the appropriate occasions. In some cases even money has been demanded, and paid, before registration was approved.

Many estate-holders have therefore been reluctant to see their estates subdivided and the land fully allocated and registered, for registration with its security of tenure reduces their effective 423 power over the people. This is probably the major reason why the survey and allocation of allotments has taken so long, and it is significant that before 1957 almost the only areas in eastern Tongatapu that had been subdivided into eight-and-a-quarter- [425 565] acre allotments were the government estates.[5] A further reason is that in the less densely settled areas many of the existing landholders have in the past also been opposed to subdivision, for

succession can be and usually is explained by a contextual factor such as the 565
lack of ability, the physical absence, the immaturity, or simply the dislike 175
among suporting chiefs of the appropriate, eldest-son heir. However, some 611
informants explained that chiefly authority should pass between brothers because 428
of *toto mafana* ('warm blood'): the younger brother shares identical chiefly
status as the deceased chief because they had the same mother, but the chief's [554]
eldest son has a different chiefly status, whether higher or lower, than his
father, because he had a different mother than the latter.[8] Thus, the chiefly
position should properly pass through the surviving brothers until they are
exhausted before it eventually returns to the senior male line. However valid 565
or accurate this current indigenous explanation of former succession beliefs 178
may be, the issue of priority between horizontal succession through brothers 611
and vertical succession through sons has survived as a continuing structural 428
tension, despite strict, legal definition of succession.

The Tu'i Tonga formally installed the major chiefly titles of the old order, 175
and the holders of the latter in turn installed titles subordinate to themselves. 565
Formal installation of subordinate titles occurred in the context of a kava 643
ceremony, headed by the appointing chief. An appointee would be served
kava under his new title after which he would present a large tribute of food, 175
called *pongipongi hingoa* ('presentation in honor of entitlement') to the 565
appointing chief. With the serving of kava and the presentation of food, the 276
new title-holder was considered formally and permanently installed in his title.
Conversely, at the installation of a king, the appointee would sit at the head 431
of his own kava ceremony and be presented with food tribute by his supporting [643]
chiefs. Although succession to noble titles is now legally defined, the monarch
continues to install the nobility in the customary manner. [178]

The law of succession to hereditary titles and lands is included both as 641
a clause in the Constitution (Clause 111) and in more detailed statutes of the
Land Act (Chapter 63, Clauses 37-42, *Law of Tonga*, 1967). Although there 428
are separate sets of clauses referring to the devolution of hereditary estates and 423
tax allotments in the Land Act, both sets are similar in content and formulation. 565
This similarity suggests an identity between special landholding in the form of 671

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[8] Although chiefly position, either as title or leadership, typically passed patrilineally in the traditional order, an individual's chiefly rank was a composite weighting of his father's chiefly rank with his mother's. In this weighting, the status or rank of one's mother carried more prestige, connoting that one had personally the chiefly blood of one's mother (and her chiefly group of origin), but possessed the chiefly position of one's father. I could obtain no clear indigenous explanations for this distinctive weighting or association of the chiefly child with its mother. Nonetheless, the ideal is for the child to be well-balanced, i.e., for both of its parents to be of chiefly status. A male child with only one chiefly parent (in most situations, a chiefly father and a commoner mother) is still considered chiefly, but is sometimes ridiculed as *ngesi taha* ('half-shelled'). Even though formal legal definition of patrilineal succession to noble titles to some extent has subdued the importance of the rank of the mother in influencing the rank of the child, several modern nobles are 'half-shelled' and as such, are generally viewed as ordinary or common persons, but for their possession of titles.

571 where European institutions such as life insurance, work-
602 man's compensation, social security, and freehold land are
476 not available.

571 Although the primary function of the agricultural
602 system is to provide for the Tongan family's everyday sub-
[434] sistence needs, a secondary function, which at times takes
[182] on major importance, is to provide the owner with products
to be used, either directly or indirectly, in fulfilling
his social obligations, both to his kinsmen and to the
[431] society as a whole. Accordingly, although European goods
[437] and cash are being increasingly used, exchanges or present-
ations of traditional Tongan products, such as fine mats,
tapa cloth, yams, pigs, kava, and sugar cane, are still the
128 predominant means of maintaining such ties. In order to
gain a better understanding of their inter-relationship
with the agricultural system, a brief description and
analysis of the well-ordered ties within the Tongan society
is necessary. These ties or obligations fall into two
general classes: kinship ties and social ties. The follow-
ing treatment of Tongan social structure is based on the
author's personal observations and works by Gifford (1927),
Beaglehole and Beaglehole (1938), Nayacakalou (1959), Maude
(1965), Aoyagi (1966), Latukefu (1967), Kaeppler (1971),
and Morton (1972).

601 Kinship Ties

612 The most common Tongan terms denoting personal kind-

602 612 tution of 1875, the household has assumed greater impor-
178 tance than the *kainga* with respect to land tenure and eco-
[592] nomic activity. Weakening of the *kainga* has also been
[554] brought about by European contact and increased focus on
[177] individualism, strength of personality, resourcefulness, and
education or wealth in the determination of social ranking.

602 Nevertheless, kinship ties provide a major impetus for
437 the redistribution of products from the agricultural system
within the kin group. The most salient exchanges are those
602 437 which take place during ceremonial occasions, such as
476 births, baptisms, marriages, and funerals, where different
● [431] kinsmen contribute labor, food, or make presentations of
fine mats, tapa, kava, and other traditional goods of high
social value. Apart from ceremonial exchanges, there is
also a constant flow of labor, food, and other commodities
602 throughout the kin group. Although the direction is often
437 from lower ranking members to higher ranking members, there
554 is also considerable flow in the opposite direction.

Social Ties

571 554 Ties which help define the role of the individual with-
in the broader context of Tongan society include some
pertaining to the traditional system of rank and status and
other more contemporary ties related to the church, the
government, and the village.

565 Tongan society is traditionally a stratified hierarchy
554 of royalty and commoners. The royalty or high chiefs (*eiki*,

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423
241 an allotment. The more permanent the tenure, the greater the possibility that the tenant will plant long-term crops like coconuts, bananas, or other fruits trees instead of subsistence crops like cassava or taro.

423
425 The most common means of obtaining legal or customary tenure to a bush or town allotment is inheritance.
[428] Individuals who are not legal heirs must find vacant allotments. By law, an individual, after finding a vacant allotment should apply directly to the Minister of Lands to register it. Unfortunately, in practice a person generally must first get approval from the estate holder in the case of an hereditary estate, or the town officer, in the case of government or Crown land. Although the Minister of Lands can overrule the decision of either the estate holder or the town officer, this rarely happens.

[571] An individual who wants permission to register land seldom approaches the estate holder or town officer directly; instead, he works through senior kinsmen or a matapule
[431] with higher social standing. In almost all cases, inquiries are either preceded or accompanied by gifts of food such as pigs, chickens, or yams. If permission is given, the new "holder" will, in most cases, not be able to register the allotment immediately. Instead, there is generally a "probationary" period designed to insure that new holders use the land wisely and fulfill their social obligations to
[427] the village or district(Maude,1965:104). The probationary

434 Table 20. Continued.

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Other sources	5%	16%	9%
Total sample size	97	44	141

434 The great diversity of store goods which are now desired by the average Tongan family (Tables 21 and 22) emphasizes the growing need for cash. In addition, cash is needed for church, school fees, taxes, and to fulfill social obligations within the family, the village, and to nobles or even to the town officer in some cases.

439 Overseas Income

[241] The primary source of Tongan overseas income is the agricultural system. During the period from 1967 to 1971, products of agricultural origin constituted 97 percent by value of all exports (Table 23). The remaining 3 percent included re-exported motor vehicles, empty containers such as oil drums and gas cylinders, goods under bond, and personal effects. ● {431 [602] A small proportion of the total value of exports is made up of agricultural products sent by Tongans as gifts to relatives overseas, including yams, taro, bananas, watermelons, sugar cane, mangoes, kava, pineapples, and handicrafts. Such items fulfill social obligations and indirectly account for considerable income in the form of remittances from the (grateful) recipients of the goods.

of rank, but their observations add substance to the bare bones of tradition and give 175
us tantalising glimpses of rank in action. On the second voyage for instance, 565
Forster theorises on the origin of rank (1778: 353), while Cook tells of chiefs
succeeding chiefs and of special observances between lesser and greater chiefs.
Thus 'Otago' would not eat in the presence of the 'old chief', but when Cook 175
went to deliver presents to the 'old chief' he found 'a far greater Chief no less than 565
King of the whole Island' so great, in fact, that 'some when they approached him 648
fell on their faces and put their heads between his feet' and 'no one durst pass him till 643
he gave them leave' (Beaglehole 1961: 256–7). Forster writes that the 'chiefs
constantly gave the presents they had received from us to the Latoo'; and, further,
that 'their government has still much oriental despotism and slavish subjection to
chiefs and their Latoo' (1778: 378, 379). Cook concludes that the *Latoo* was the
first man on the Island under whom there were chiefs over certain districts and then
a third level of chiefs, of which his friend Otago was a member. This was not a
bad guess, in the light of only a few days' acquaintance with a complex system—
but not the correct one. For, as we have seen, the Tu'i Tonga, descendant of the
god Tangaloa, was the 'King' of all the archipelago and the divine ruler.

In order to understand the treatment of the *Latoo* we must first classify a second 612
type of ranking in Tonga—that among kinsmen (*kāinga*). Starting with ego's own 562
generation, the first principle of *kāinga* rank is that females have higher status than
males. It is only after sex is taken into account that the second principle, elder
outranking younger, comes into play. Thus, a girl of twelve years of age will have
higher social status within the family than her brother of twenty years of age.

In the relationship of ego with his parental generation, another principle takes 602
precedence. An individual's kinsmen are divided into two classes—the paternal 554
kinsmen who rank higher than ego, and the maternal kinsmen who rank lower than 562
ego. Thus in the parental generation, the highest kinsman is father's eldest sister, [604]
and of only slightly lesser status are other sisters of the father. Following these,
father's brothers are distinguished in status according to age. Continuing with these
principles, we see that the lowest in status are mother's brothers and only slightly
higher are the mother's sisters.

The relationships of ego to members of the generation below him depend 602
primarily on whether they are related through his sisters or his brothers. Sister's 604
children are higher in status than ego, and this is reflected in the special term he uses 554
for them (*'ilamutu*), the highest of this group being his sister's eldest daughter. These 562
kinsmen are *fahu* (i.e., 'above the law') to ego and can take any of his possessions. [601]
Ego is also expected to make ceremonial presentations, such as first fruits, to his [431]
fahu throughout his life. Ego's brother's children, on the other hand, are classified [601]
with his own children (*'ofefine* and *foha*) and are therefore lower than ego.

Applying these principles to the Tu'i Tonga line, we see that the Tu'i Tonga 643
himself was outranked within his *kāinga* by his sister. She was distinguished by a 644
special title, the Tu'i Tonga Fefine, i.e., the 'female Tu'i Tonga'. Of even higher 554
rank were the Tu'i Tonga's sister's children, and especially her eldest daughter, who 562
also had a special title, 'Tamaha'. On Cook's third voyage, Anderson tells us that
Latu 'made no scruple of taking any thing from the people even if it belong'd to the [612]
King' (Beaglehole 1967: 954). In this framework we see that he was simply
exercising his *fahu* relationship to the Tu'i Tonga. Thus the Tamaha had high

175 as Cook says, but perhaps his sister's son or someone else of higher *kāinga* rank.
765 Anderson says that it was for a chief who had died at Vava'u some time before
(Beaglehole 1967: 911). This is quite likely, as Vava'u was the home of Sinaitakala,
554 i.e., the Tu'i Tonga's father's sister (mother of Latu) and individuals of this line
612 were of higher *kāinga* rank than the Tu'i Tonga. Cook tells us that to the mourning
[292] ceremony the king wore 'an old ragged mat that might have served his great grand
Father on some such like occasion: his Servants or those who attended him were all
dressed in the same manner, excepting none of them having quite so ragged a Mat
round them as their master' (Beaglehole 1967: 140).

612 This demonstrates once again that even the Tu'i Tonga was outranked within his
602 *kāinga*. The same practice exists today for *liongi* of the high chiefs. For example, at
the funeral of Queen Sālote in 1965 it was an honour to wear the most ragged
764 mats, for it demonstrated visually that one was related to the queen (plate 1*c*).A
765 Queen Sālote's mother came from the Tu'i Tonga line making that line *liongi* to the
292 queen—and thus the wearers of the most ragged of mats and the presenters of the
most valued of ceremonial gifts, i.e., fine mats.

* * * * *

121 In this rank-oriented society, material culture held an important place. A few
types of material culture will be discussed here to illustrate the usefulness of descriptions and collections from Cook's voyages for research on the interrelationships
of social organisation and material culture. It was historical accident that the chiefs
175 met on the second voyage were lower than the chiefs met on the third voyage, and
565 also that some of the collections of artefacts from the two voyages can be separated.[8]
554 These accidents make it possible to relate existing specimens not only to the class
structure, but also to levels of chiefs, through written accounts from Cook's
126 voyages and also through traditions still existing in Tonga.

The first type of material culture to be dealt with will be mats, which are the
285 most necessary part of the *koloa* or gifts for any ceremony—be it a societal one or
[431] one within the family (family ceremonies having the same attributes as societal
ones, only on a smaller scale). Mats have an intricate ranking system of their own,
being classified by material and manner of fabrication. All the types of mats known
285 today through fieldwork do not exist in eighteenth century collections. This may
127 be for any one of a number of reasons. They may not have been collected; they
may have been collected but then traded to other Polynesians; they may not have
been in vogue at that time; they may not have been identified by their collectors as
Tongan; or they may simply not have been preserved.

In his second voyage account Cook tells us 'they also make various sorts of Matts
175 of a very fine texture which serve them both for Cloathing and beding. Their
285 Dress is a piece of Cloth or Matting wraped round their Middle reaching from the
291 breast down below the knee, they seldom wear anything over their Shoulders or
upon their heads. The dress of the Men and Women are the same' (Beaglehole
1961: 266–7). By the third voyage, however, Cook realises that dress is a visual
[554] symbol of rank and adds that 'large pieces of Cloth and fine Matting are only
wore by the superior people, the inferior sort put up with small pieces . . . or the
Maro, which is a narrow piece of cloth or matting like a Sash' (Beaglehole 1967:
175 168). Cook finds also that 'they have mats made on purpose to sleep upon' (1967:
285
513

A. [See End Plate 1, following p. 220--Analyst]

175

169). And, as mentioned above, ragged mats were worn for mourning ceremonies. 285 However, Cook does not list the function of mats as ceremonial gifts, which is [513] understandable because he did not attend complete funeral or wedding ceremonies [292] —the main occasions of ceremonial giving. [765]

Forster's *Catalogue of curiosities* lists eight plaited items, seven of which are called [431] mats and one an apron, and George Forster mentions 'their elegant mats, which for 127 workmanship and variety excelled even those of Taheitee' (1777: I, 439). 285

Number 53 in the Forster collection is listed as 'a strong matt, with a black pattern' (plate 2*a*).A It is made of light-coloured pandanus (127 cm. × 207 cm.) decorated with a diagonal pattern of black pandanus, and appears to be unfinished if spread out. This item may be a *ta'ovala la*. According to Tongan tradition certain [565] *matāpule* (ceremonial attendants), whose function it was to supervise ceremonies such as installations of title holders and funerals of chiefs, wore a waist mat decorated with black pandanus that came to a point in the back. If this mat were folded diagonally and then wrapped, the design would be on the outside, a triangle would hang to the back, and the part that was folded inside need not be decorated. The only other example of a *ta'ovala la* so far located is in the Museum and Art Gallery, Glasgow, and it is plaited so that one side comes to a triangular point and need not be folded.

Item Number 56, listed as a mat 'pierced with holes' (plate 2*b*),A is probably one of the items George Forster described in his journal as aprons, 'curiously wrought of mats in resemblance of fretwork' (1777: I, 474). This type of garment is a *kie fau* [314] or *teunga fau* and is made of the inner bark of the hibiscus tree (*fau*) that has been partially rotted in sea water. The texture is fine and delicate, and the manufacture is a difficult enterprise in contrast to the plaiting of sturdy pandanus mats. *Kie fau* were worn as waist mats only by chiefs—*kie fau* indicating chiefly rank, just as wearing the *ta'ovala la* indicated that one was a certain kind of *matāpule*.

There are three different types of *kie fau*. The type represented by the Pitt Rivers example (160 cm. × 86 cm.) is plaited with square holes and has a fringe of tabs sewn on with twisted '*olongā* (*Pipturus argenteus*) fibre. A second type with much more openwork is found in Museum collections in Cambridge, Dublin, Bern, and Newcastle—all of which have Cook collections—but it is not always known that these particular specimens are from Cook's voyages. The third kind of *kie fau* has small plaited tabs that form an upper layer plaited out from a solid bottom layer. This type is in the Cook collections in Vienna and Stockholm, and there is one in Madrid that was collected by the Spaniard Malaspina in Vava'u in 1792. The manufacture of these types of *kie fau* was probably discontinued in the early nineteenth century. Today *fau* fibre is crocheted into openwork patterns for similar, but more [178] easily made, decorative pieces that can be worn by anyone. The openwork technique is still known, but the more easily worked pandanus is used instead of *fau*. The functional replacement of the *kie fau*, i.e., the chief's waist mat, is now a soft, [439] fine pandanus mat decorated with red feathers and imported from Samoa. This suggests that when the Tongan high ranking *kie fau* ceased to be made there was nothing of local manufacture that was of high enough status to replace it, and a foreign product was brought in.

But the most precious of all the plaited items to the Tongans, and to Cook's men [175] as well, were the so-called 'aprons of cocoanut fibre'. Cook described them in his [531]

A.[See End Plate 2, following p. 220--Analyst]

/19 cont./

181 friendly and hospitable as were their ancestors (8)

[113) 8. See John Reinhold Forster, Observations made during a voyage round the world /cited in English/. London 1778. p. 235; G. Forster, loc. cit. IV. Berlin 1778. p. 359; J. Cook, Beschreibung einer Entdeckungsreise in das stille Meer* /Description of an exploratory journey in the Pacific Ocean and up to the Northpole/ in Geschichte /History/ loc. cit. vol. VI. Berlin 1787. p. 277; J.T. Plant, Handbuch einer vollstandigen Erdbeschreibung und Geschichte Polynesiens /Handbook of a complete geography and history of Polynesia/ vol. II. Leipzig and Gera 1799. p. 375; J. Martin., An account of the natives of the Tonga Islands /cited in English/ vol. I. London 1817. p. 70/71; idem., loc. cit. vol. II. London 1817. p. 166; S.S. Farmer, Tonga and the Friendly Islands /cited in English/. London 1855. p. 150.

*und nach dem Nordpol hinauf

--aside from acts of considerable brutality in wartime. Life in the

181
574
431
[578)
villages is always peaceful (9)

9. Although, as a result of the "liberation" of the commoners and their living together in villages, there is sometimes a certain rivalry between individual inhabitants who are ambitious and strive for influence, yet their general quiet-peaceful disposition seldom lets such tensions become visible and break out into open conflict.

(the last murder in Tonga occurred about 25 years ago), and on the small islands every Tongan can even still ask every village inhabitant for something he happens to need--be it a yam tuber or a

181
431
horse--and he gets it without a direct return service. Most Tongans are certainly not attached to material things, they can very easily give away and make presents and take pleasure in it. (10)

181
426
[434)
10. This may even involve larger objects. For example, in 1951 a young Tongan on Nomuka asked a fellow-villager for permission to harvest coconuts on the latter's plantation. This was granted him, and his copra production

[No p. 19 in translated manuscript--Analyst]

/55 cont./

291 Yet nowadays, on the small islands (as well as on the outskirts of
the "chief city") one sees children (especially boys) run around
naked up to about five years (in exceptional cases up to nine years)
[296] even /56/ on Sundays. The reason for this is the indifference and
convenience of the parents who, because of the rapid deterioration of
fabrics resulting from improper treatment naturally find it very
difficult always to dress their numerous children (as many as 12)
[177] "decently." As a rule, however, people make an effort to dress their
children in small vala or panties of European fabric, and if possible,
[292] make small shirts for boys and little dresses for girls to wear on
Sundays, often with the addition of small ta'o-vala for the boys.

291 Summarizing the change in Tongan clothing, we note primarily
177 the replacement of the tapa and a definitive acceptance of full
178 covering. Tongan women, when dyeing (koka'anga) the long lengths of
[386] tapa, often wrap a piece of old tapa around their hips to protect
their fabric clothing from color spatters. If they come as guests
[574] to a festival they will sometimes wear, as a vala, the tapa they have
[431] brought their hosts as a gift, and at many large dances (146)
women and men (if they take part) still like to adorn themselves
with tapa. Aside from that, however, tapa as clothing has disappeared from Tongan life. Moreover, in the villages and in public no Tongan man or woman may defy the general fashion of clothing the upper part of their bodies. Yet the change is not as complete as in other areas of Polynesia, for example on Tahiti. For most of the Tongan men and women still adhere to the form of the vala and wear the belt mats (ta'o-vala)--probably no less than in ancient Tonga. Footgear and headgear have not become common.

[535] 146. For example, the laka-laka, ula, ma'ulu'ulu and me'etu'upaki. For details see "Dances," p. 395 ff.

/75 cont./

574 584 219. Compare p. 144 ff.
276 Either the young man now visits kava gatherings where the /76/ girl
he desires is already preparing the kava, or he will gather together
several young men, go to the place where the girl lives with her
parents, and ask her to prepare kava for the little group. Such
kava gatherings may last from early evening until far into the night,
sometimes even until daybreak. The visitors, talk and sing, perhaps
also to guitar accompaniment, while the girl prepares the kava. The
young man who has his eye on the girl also has a chance, in the general
conversation, to exchange a few words with her, but sometimes, as a
result of adverse circumstances or his own shyness, he can only gaze
at her the whole evening. This somewhat passive courtship may go
on for months until the young man, at a kava gathering, if he manages
to sit next to the girl, will confess his great love for her,
beg her to marry him and will ask when the wedding can take place.
In case the girl does not disapprove, she usually answers that he
should decide the time of the marriage. The young Tongan goes home
and tells his parents that he wishes to marry this girl and that she
is willing.

584 Then one evening, he, his father and perhaps two relatives
431 (cousins, brothers of the bridegroom or of the father) go together
574 to the house of the girl's father with a long piece of kava (*kàva
276 tafuna*), the contents of a large earth oven (for example, a pig, yams,
breadfruit, taro, sweet potatoes) or a 40-pound canister (or two) of
zwieback. They place the kava and the rest of the gifts in the
center of the house and the girl's father, she herself (possibly also
her mother) and the newcomers form a kava circle. The bridegroom's
584 574 father brings up his son's request, the girl's father expresses his
276 thanks and asks the girl. After she has agreed to the suit, the

/76 cont./

584 574 276 father likewise makes known his positive decision, the wedding day is set, (220) kava is drunk, the details are discussed and the gathering breaks up.

220. For example, in a week; sometimes also a few days later, so that no other youth will "run away" with the girl.

584 [431] In case the girl or her father (or both) reject the proposition, the young man's party returns home immediately and, in most cases, leaves behind the gifts that were brought. The latter are sometimes returned to the suitor. The matter is then dismissed, unless the girl who is willing to marry persuades her father to change his mind, or the two young people decide on a flight marriage (see p. 66).

584 574 604 [178] This method of courtship, despite all formality, appears to be the changed, simplified, "modern" way. The undoubtedly older form of courtship, in which, since in old times, /77/ the brothers of the father had the last word and an important role, also still exists, especially, of course, in the villages of the small islands. In [431] this case the paternal uncle of the young man eager for marriage goes to the paternal uncle of the girl he has chosen, and takes along kava and food (earth oven: pig and produce from the plantings; today also more often in the modern manner, a large canister of zwieback or a number of loaves of white bread). There he asks the girl's uncle for [276] his consent to the marriage; however, usually he is not given an answer immediately, but after a kava drink they part, for the paternal uncle or the girl must first ask her. After three or four days or after a week the young man's uncle again visits the girl's uncle and is given the answer. This is, of course, "yes" if the girl and her uncle consent. The answer is negative if the girl is disinclined. In case the uncle rejects the proposal, but the girl is in favor of it, the answer may be positive (lost authority of the paternal uncle?),

/77 cont./

584 574 604 especially if the girl's family do not wish her to change her mind. If the outcome is positive, the two paternal uncles decide on the date of the wedding.

In any case, the consent of the girl is essential. This is probably similar to conditions in ancient Tonga, for Mariner reports that the majority of women married of their own free will. (221)

221. That is to say, those who, in his opinion, did not belong to the group of women two-thirds of whom/one-third? see footnote 216 F. S./ ^ were betrothed in early childhood to men of higher rank (J. Martin, *loc cit*. II. p. 167).

584 Until the wedding, the bridegroom then mostly visits his bride every evening while her parents are asleep, and chats with her, especially about the forthcoming festivity. Nothing else happens. However, it may also come about that the partners marry without ever having talked together previously (the older custom?). In some cases [574] [431] [276] the father of the bridegroom sends food and kava every evening until the wedding day to the girl's place (for her and her parents); the bridegroom and his relatives go there, drink kava, chat and sing (and dance)

585 292 On the day of the wedding, the bridegroom dons his best *vala* and his best shirt, in addition to several *ta'o-vala* (of the finest quality: the *kie Tonga*), (222)

222. Compare p. 310-312.

hangs one or two *sisi kakala* (223)

223. Compare p. 82-84

around his shoulders and fetches his bride, who is wearing a particularly fine dress and likewise some three *kie Tonga* and *sisi kakala*, from her place in order to go with her to the registrar (or to ride if the latter is in another village or on another island) where the official marriage certificate is drawn up. Several /78/ relatives 585 602

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^ [See footnote 216 on p. 108--Analyst]

/79 cont./

585 574 which all the guests seat themselves along with the couple who occupy
[554] the place of honor, namely the chieftain's place. Even at a simple
585 wedding there may be 80 persons assembled. It is now three or four
574 o'clock in the afternoon. Kava is prepared, (226)

276 226. See page 144ff.

and the bride, as the principal person, is given the most honorable, third cup, even if it is a wedding of commoners and a chief is present as a guest. In this kava circle the bride and bridegroom sit on the
[604] laps of their respective maternal uncles (tu'a-sina). Following this,
585 the mats and tapa brought as gifts by the two kinship groups are dis-
574 tributed, after the bridal couple have received their share, and
431 the contents of the earth oven (or ovens, see above) are distributed among the relatives of the bride and groom. This food is not immediately eaten (or only part of it) while most of it (227)

227. Sometimes a regular meal is eaten.

585 is taken home. The bride also goes to her paternal home along with her relatives, while the bridegroom remains behind.

It is only on the following evening, or even after two or three
[177] days, that the bride returns with her relatives; her mother or her mother's brother (tu'a-sina) carries her bed (mats, (228)

228. They consist chiefly of the fala paongo, fala tutu'ila, fala fihu.

tapa and usually a European sheet and pillow) into the house of the
[574] bridegroom. The relatives (229)

[276] [202] [178] 229. According to the original custom, only older women who acted as witnesses; today, however, a rather large circle of individuals of both sexes.

of both sides gather together in a kava circle which lasts into the night, amid talking and singing: they are waiting for the marriage to be consummated. The next morning, the sheet (or tapa) is

/82 cont./

846 festivities. It is simply customary for relatives (especially those
574 of the mother) and neighbors to come, in order to see the newborn child
846 and to bring gifts, such as tapa, (small) mats, a basket of yams, a
574 431 chicken, or European articles such as baby powder, for example. They
are offered food that has been prepared in advance, and soon (after
(602) one or two hours) the visitors return home. It is only after the birth
of the first child in the family that the father with his kinsmen prepares a very large earth oven for the kinfolk of his wife, they form a kava circle and the two family groups exchange gifts of mats and tapa. Some families also repeat this celebration after subsequent births.

853 The Tongan mother begins feeding her baby by chewing a piece of coconut meat that has been heated in the fire, then wrapping this in a piece of raw tapa (feta'aki) and putting this in the child's mouth to suck. After two days the baby is given the mother's breast (huhu). In two or three months the supplementary diet is begun. The mother skins bananas (of the siaine species) that have been roasted in the fire, chews the bananas and gives them to the child which is also fed yams (for example, 'ufi-lei) baked in the earth oven and chewed (or crushed), bread fruit, sweet potatoes and /83/ coconut milk. (236)

853 236. The juice squeezed out of coconut meat.

177 However, this typical, ancient Tongan baby diet is today, in many cases, replaced by European food. Instead of the chewed coconut meat in raw tapa, the child is given warm sugar-water and in place of the aforementioned supplementary diet the baby is often given soaked pieces of bread and zwieback that have been chewed or crushed with a fork (spoon). Occasionally, a bottle with cow's milk is given instead of the breast. (237)

237. On Lifuka, for example, a woman raised the eight children of her adopted daughter

/96 cont./

476 takes her place (as the family decides).

It is difficult to say whether these kautaha are ancient
476 178 Tongan institutions. Since government officials usually recommend that the women, for example, make a certain number of mats within a given time, and the festive exhibitions of the kautaha have a certain official character through the presence of the "town officer" /cited in English/, the pastor and the kautaha president (all judges of the exhibited pieces), and since the election of the president strikes one as very European in character, we must assume that this form of the kautaha originated in the more recent period. On the other hand, it seems
[285] improbably that formerly the very sociable Tongan women made the large
[287] mats and tapa lengths by themselves in their family circle. Surely there were similar work teams in ancient Tonga, which in more recent times then took on the character of the present-day kautaha.

476 The festivals of the women's kautaha on an island like Nomuka
527 have an important place among the few festivities that are observed
574 in the present village community. It is a festive show of accomplishment which may proceed as follows:

The day before the festival a long roofing (of sticks and coconut palm fronds) is erected for the participants on a place in the village. On the morning of the festival several earth-ovens are prepared by the husbands of the various members, with the help of the women and their relatives. The festival (often called a "show"
[533] /cited in English/) starts around noon. If there is a brass band in the village it strikes up /97/ and the invited guests of both sexes (that is to say, a large part of the village population) take their
[431] seats in no particular order. The tapa pieces that have been brought along as gifts for the hosts are, for the time being, used as seat pads and are later (before the banquet) gathered up by the hosts. The show begins. The women of the kautaha (older as well as younger ones)

527 /98 cont./
574 which is often paid for in advance by collections taken in the con-
794 (262) gregation. After the meal the guests disperse. The meaning of this
(272) feast is to thank God with food and drink for His blessings, through
(782) the preacher as His intercessor. Undoubtedly this type of festivity
(177) may be traced back to mission activity, but it is now organized by
the Tongan festival. This is shown even more clearly in the large
574 faka-afe on the last day of the year. If, for example, eight preachers
793 of the congregation are to speak on the evening of December 31st, a
794 special banquet is given for each of them on this day. The pastor, the
eight lay preachers and their invited guests-- altogether 20 or more
individuals--go from one banquet to another, soon amply fed and with-
out appetite, but always intent on eating more and leaving a little
room for the next meal (out of courtesy to the host). In serious and
(537) carefully worded speeches they give thanks to God for having taken care
of the community throughout the year which is coming to an end, and for
always having given it sufficient food; nor do they forget, in these
speeches, to thank their respective hosts at great length.

527 The Christian festivals of Christmas, Easter and Pentecost have
177 not acquired deeper significance within the village community, To be
sure, preparations for Christmas, for example, are considerable: weeks
before, people busily make copra, stock quantities of European food
for selling (bagsful of sugar and flour, six-pound cans of corned beef,
etc.), and dress material, and they sew new gala attire. However, the
holidays then pass without special events; only a few young men get
drunk and beat each other up. Many Tongans even continue working on
(621) holidays, and the only function that unites the community (besides
(533) /99/ church attendance) is the performance in many villages of the
(431) large Wesleyan church choir which, during Holy Night, moves from
house to house, like English carol singers, singing British Christmas
carols /cited in English/ and other Tongan-English songs and, in

527 /99 cont./

177 return, collects presents. Brass bands or groups of guitar players
[621]
[533] go about in the same way.

● [431] It is not only on these festivals that the Christian religion
794 has taken on a certain importance in the community life of the village.
177 It is specifically through the integration of large sections of the
182 population in the many services of the various churches that it exerts
a certain influence on group formation in all settlements. Moreover,
[533] the bringing together of numerous adults of both sexes in the choirs
(each with some 30-150 voices strong) of the individual Wesleyan
churches has become important in the community life of many villages,
for the numerous evening rehearsals are a very welcome change in the
everyday life of the vocally gifted and song-loving Tongan men and
women.

527 Whereas the festivals mentioned (kautaha-show, faka-afe), the
574 church services and the choirs each unite only a certain part of the
182 village population (through membership or by special invitation), the
621 old Tongan custom of the sociable kava circle has remained an
institution of community life that is accessible to every adult male
Tongan.

276 In ancient Tonga more kava was probably drunk than on the other
islands of the South Seas. (273)

273. See J. Cook, Beschreibung...VI. p. 224; Johann Reinhold Forster's Bemerkungen... /Comments/ p. 416.

[797] Although the missionaries did not by any means encourage the natives
[178] in this custom, (274)

(113) 274. See J.E. Erskine, Journal of a cruise among the islands of the western Pacific... /cited in English/ London 1853. p. 149.

it determines social life at least as much today as in the past and
[191] perhaps even more. In Tonga far more kava is drunk than in Samoa

/101 cont./ The men gathered together
276 (usually between five and fifteen) talk. The older ones speak about
574 their plantations and their remarkable harvests or setbacks, or about
521 fishing and the various methods employed. They will also discuss in detail the special events on the island and in the Archipelago, and from minor and harmless occurrences the most exciting stories may develop. The younger ones take part in these conversations, or they will chat with the girl preparing the kava. (282)

282. She does not drink the kava and may not leave her seat throughout the entire session; once she goes out, another girl must continue in her stead.

(533) Sometimes the younger ones may sing, and then the quiet, even conversa-
276 tion of the older ones will cease. While new kava drink is prepared and
574 served again and again, the group stays together, from early evening, for example, until far into the night, sometimes even until daybreak. In this case, the old custom is sometimes observed that the men, on
(431) the next day, will prepare a large earth-oven (possibly with a pit) as "compensation" for their wives, and the wives will give them gifts of tapa and mats.

There are no special houses for kava circles within the village. Every house of a specific minimal size is suitable. In every village there are several kava gatherings in different houses every
(182) day (especially in the evening). In general, the men do not go
(621) regularly to a specific kava circle; the houses as well as the members of the groups change, and this fulfills the essential function of kava drinking, namely, to unite the male members of the village community beyond all separation through family life and the religious affiliation, in any combination and at any time.

276 Not only in these free social gatherings, but also on all
574 special occasions kava drinking is a necessary accompaniment. At
461 every type of community work in the village, for example if a few

/104 cont./

565 decades later, that the termination of the interdependence of nobles
178 and people is being worked out in practice to the fullest extent.

565 Whereas formerly the chiefs had total, almost godlike authority
178 in Tonga, today God and the church--and, only far behind the royal
794 house--are the supreme power for all Tonga. Among the people, their
(461) former work for chiefs has been replaced by work for the family and
(among the Wesleyan natives in particular) for the church. (290)

> 290. Many average Tongan families of the villages on the small islands today "contribute" approximately the sum of 30-50£T. a year (= circa 280-470 German marks) to their church; in addition there are the faka-afe (banquets) for the preachers. Besides, every Tongan devotes a considerable amount of time to the numerous church services.

178
565 The present-day tu'a pays only his (small) land rent (to the government)
(427) for his chief on whose territory his plantation lies; he seldom sends
(431) his chief natural produce--and generally only voluntarily--as a special
gift. The commoners, through democratizing Christianity, gained greater self-assurance in relation to the upper classes, and this becomes all the stronger as they secure for themselves economic advantages through the copra trade and are able to acquire a certain amount of knowledge and culture in the schools. Intelligence and ability can make it possible for them to advance in various professions (government administration, teacher, clergyman, physician).

The chiefs, whose position of power has not suddenly, but very gradually, declined, look upon this development coolly and with a certain melancholy. Only the royal family and the 30 highest chiefs of the new class of nopele (nobles) (291) created in the second half of the previous century by George I,

> 291. Altogether there are now 33 nopele titles in Tonga, three of which are at present held by the crown prince and his brother.

/118 cont./

423 The system which is basically ideal in theory, shows a great defect in its practical application insofar as not every male Tonga /119/ over 16 cultivates the leased plot of 8 1/4 acres assigned to him. A number of natives control larger piece of land (or [431] [425] several pieces) which they or their ancestors received as gifts from a Tongan sovereign or a nopele, (326)

326. For example, as a reward for special services or in memory of a youthful friendship.

and which consists of their own api'uta and the api'uta taken over from another person (kinsman), (327)

327. Thus, for example, a man in 'Uiha/'Uiha cultivates his api'uta and that of his son who is employed by the government in Nuku'alofa; another man cultivates his api'uta and that of his father, which his five-year-old son is supposed to inherit, while his father in turn works the api'uta of his father. The second case, in particular, is not in the spirit of the law.

or that is land which has been additionally rented in a legal manner. (328)

[671] [425] [427] 328. Decrees issued in 1927 and 1934 gave the natives who relinquish their claim to a dwelling place in the village the possibility to lease 12 and 3/8 (or 15) acres of bushland for planting purposes at a reduced rent. With this the government wishes to induce natives to live on their plantations rather than in the village. However, only a relatively small number of natives have hitherto made use of this possibility.

Very many Tongans, however, --especially among the densely populated Ha'apai group--have either a smaller api'uta (of only two, three or four acres) or own none at all. [161] The population density in the Archipelago, exclusive of the uninhabitable land, very probably

/120 cont./

592 423 1 household each with circa 9 acres (332)

[425] [431] 332. A few households have more than 8 acres at their disposal because two (or more) legitimate claimants have received their own api'uta (for example, father and son over 16), others because they have been given the land as gifts, or an api'uta was additionally taken on by another person (see above).

3	households	each	with	circa	10	acres
2	"	"	"	"	11	"
4	"	"	"	"	12	"
1	household		"	"	13	"
3	households	"	"	"	15	"
2	"	"	"	"	16	"
1	household		"	"	21	"

Thus, on an average, one land-owning household in 'Uiha controls [621] slightly more than seven acres. Since the village consists of a total of 100 households (333)

[241] [431] [602] 333. Some landless individuals plant on the land of fellow-villagers, or else landowners give products to their relatives who have no land.

there are just under 6½ acres alloted to each household. The land distribution in 'Uiha is apparently sufficient for the needs of the inhabitants, since each household has at its disposal enough food from the plantations of the village, and there is no dissatisfaction to be noted over the varying sizes of the individual api'uta.

Of the 32 land-owning households in Fungamisi/Vava'u 1 household has (circa) 3 acres (334)

334. The data in acres are estimates of well-informed Tongan.

1 household has (circa) 5 acres

/120 cont./

592 1 household has (circa) 6 acres

423 3 households have (circa) 7 acres each

8 " " " 8 " "

1 household has " 9 " (335)

[425] [431] 335. A few households have more than 8 acres at their disposal because two (or more) legitimate claimants have received their own api'uta (for example, father and son over 16), others because they have been given land as gifts, or an api'uta was additionally taken on by another person (see above).

/121/ 2 households have (circa) 10 acres each

1 household was " 11 "

2 households " " 12 " "

1 household has " 14 "

1 " " " 19 "

1 " " " 25 "

(621) Thus, on an average, a land-owning household in Fungamisi has approximately 9 and 2/3 acres at its disposal. Since the village consists of a total of 45 households, (336) each household is alloted an average of slightly less than five acres. Here too the distribution of land seems to suffice for the needs of the inhabitants.

(241) (431) (602) 336. Some landless individuals plant on the land of fellow-villagers, or else landowners give their products to relatives who have no land.

423 657 This inequality of land distribution will become greater in the future as conditions become more complicated from generation to generation (inheritance of individual api as well as removals), especially since drastic measures on the part of the government in the form of redistribution are improbable because of the difficulties involved.

/153 cont./

241 way he has to walk from the village, he can no longer devote himself
178 to it as intensely as in the 18th century; secondly, many natives
461 seem to have lost their joy in the work of cultivation. This is the
[177] outcome of European influences, as a result of which much hand work
has apparently become crude or has been lost altogether. The
"liberation" of commoners from the domination of chiefs, as well as
the realization that one is no longer completely dependent on
cultivation, since flour, meat, sugar, etc. can be bought from the
storekeeper on all the islands, may likewise have determined the
present attitude toward plantation work.

241 The majority of Tongans consume their cultivated products by
[262] themselves, within their own families. At a request, or even on their
[431] own initiative, they will sometimes give of their yield--especially
if there has been a good harvest--to other villagers (not only kinfolk),
241 as in old times. On the small islands they do not, as a rule, sell
438 their produce to fellow-villagers, and in the villages of the larger
184 islands, only occasionally. In the larger towns of Nuku'alofa, Neiafu
432 and Pangai, however, some Tongans sell their tubers, etc. to their
countrymen who have no plantings or only small ones (for example,
government and business officials); some natives on the larger
islands have even started planned cultivation for such purposes (for
241 example, "yam farms"). The handing-over of produce to chiefs, which
565 in ancient Tonga was taken for granted, has been given up almost
178 entirely and has been superseded by the annual payment for the lease
427 of land; a native but only seldom on special occasions, will a
651 431 native bring the chief of his district a gift of select tubers. The
241 old, larger harvest festival (inasi), the offering of first fruits
796 to the gods, (406)

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178 406. See E. Gifford, Tongan Society / cited in English/ pp. 76, 345.

/206 cont./
285 species (see papa).

fala paongo:

(513) This the natives prefer to use as the inner mat layer of a
complete bed. It is also used separately as a sleeping mat, and
(352) when it gets old it is often used as a floor mat. The fala tofua
(431) is further used in gift-giving, and in burial, to lay the corpse to
(764) rest. It varies in size with an average measurement of about 1.90 x
1.20 meters.

(824) The mat is plaited of the leaf strips of the lou paongo species;
these are prepared as for the papa (see above), but are cut much
(531) narrower. The fala paongo are not specially ornamented.

fala tofua:

(513) This is the most important sleeping mat and is used by men, women
and children. As part of a complete bed it serves as the uppermost
(431) layer of mats. It a favored wedding gift, and at a burial the corpse
(585) is laid to rest on it.
(764)

Like the lo taha (see above) the mat is plaited of leaf strips
(824) of the lou tofua species; however, the strips of the former are
used double, whereas for the latter they are worked in singly. Leaf
strips of the lou paongo species (see papa) are used as the favored
ornamentation.

4. Belt Mats

285
291

ta'o-vala tofua:

This belt mat--like all the others--differs from the sleeping
mats in that the plaiting is considerably finer and smaller in size.
(554) /207/ It is the most commonly used of these symbols of respect and
rank, (534)

534. See p. 69-71.

(824) and is worn especially by men, but also by women. The ta'o-vala

/207 cont./

285 a few days (about seven), desalt them in fresh water, dry them for
[824] three or four days in the sun and roll them up again. Before plaiting
them the natives stretch these upper skins of the leaves, make them
pliable and divide them into narrow strips.

Sometimes the natives smoke-dry this belt mat to make it some-
what darker (that is, yellowish brown). Nowadays, they also some-
[531] times interweave it with lou kie strips that have been dyed with multi-
[177] colored, artificial European dyes.
[386]

ta'o-vala kie-kie:

The ta'o-vala kie-kie is very probably a "new discovery" that is
[291] no more than two decades old. This is not so much a mat as a plaited
belt with pendant strips that are plaited in the same way. Men and
women wear it like the ta'o-vala tofua.

[824] They plait the ta'o-vala kie-kie out of leaf strips of the lou
[531] tofua variety of pandanus (see above under lo taha) and ornament it
with interwoven black-dyed (see above under lo taha) leaf strips of
the same species.

/208/

5. Display Mats

fala fihu:

285 The fala fihu is a valuable mat which is generally not used by
565 commoners, but is stored away and dept for a special purpose. It is
[431] given by a relative or close friend on the occasion of a wedding; a
[585] girl will give it to the man she loves, and a young man will also
ask his sister for a fala fihu to give to a male of female friend as
[585] a special token of affection. At her wedding, a very well-to-do
[292] bride is wrapped in such a mat (but usually of a larger variety known
[764] as "fihu"), and at a burial the corpse is sometimes covered with it.
[513] The daughter of a high-ranking man also sleeps on such a mat.

285 The fala fihu is made from the pandanus species lou kie (see
824 above under ta'o -vala kie).

/219 cont./

287 [386] [531] usually does herself with a wooden rod and blackish-brown color (a mixture of koka-color and the soot of burned Aleurites).

The tapa lengths are folded and rolled into balls and kept in the dwelling of the owner who, in the course of time, cuts off pieces as needed.

287 531 [386] There are three types of tapa, according to the methods of dyeing:

1. ngatu tahina:

This most important, because universally used, tapa is dyed a solid brown with the exception of the border and certain parts of the decoration. The patterns are brought out with dark brown or blackish-
[212] brown lines. They represent, for example, the /220/ adornment of chieftains, striking or historically noteworthy landscape motifs, symbols of the modern Tongan state (star, crown, dove, swords), parts of ancient Tongan chieftains' houses, as well as the new palace of the king and desirable European objects such as the bicycle and gramaphone, and some also have inscriptions (block letters) which explain the meaning of individual decorations (for example, KOE SISI O TAUFAAHAU = this is the ornamental belt (sisi) of the Taufa'ahua; KOE KALAUNI = this is the crown; KOE PASIKALA = this is a bicycle; KALAMIFONI = gramaphone).

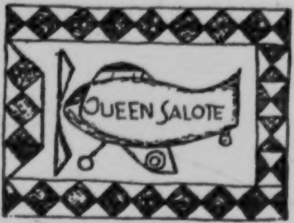
287 [513] [353] [342] [292] [764] [431] The ngatu tahina is used as a bed cover (also bed pad) for men women and children, to partition rooms and as ceiling covers in the house, as wedding clothes, to lay a corpse to rest, as a gift, and as a dance dress; in each case sufficiently large pieces are cut from the roll.

2. ngatu tapa'i ngatu:

287 531 [212] Tapa of this kind has patterns outlined in dark brown (blackish-brown) on a surface that has been left more or less white. Their patterns are also symbols of ancient and modern Tonga (for example,

/220 cont./

287 a certain flower ornament
531
212



Pattern on a *ngato tapa 'i ngatu*: a spitfire fighter plane (Expedition Collection, No. 27)

of a chief, parts of ancient Tongan buildings and houses of chiefs, striking landscapes, the queen's fan, the flag of Tonga, a spitfire fighter plane that the Tongans gave England in the second World War, and a nautical mark in the harbor of Neiafu), and some of them are explained by block-letter inscriptions.

287 Bast cloth of this kind is used especially as bed covers, to
(513) divide up and decorate rooms in the dwelling as well as to cover the
(353) ceiling of these, and as gifts; it is also used occasionally as a
(342)
(431) wedding and a dance dress and to cover a corpse.
(292)
(764)

3. *ngatu 'uli*:

287 This type of tapa is dark brown to blackish-brown (brown *koka*
531 color and blackish *koka* and *Aleurites* soot). It is decorated with
(386) print panels (chiefly with the "*manulua*" pattern, namely, cruciform
triangular patterns), or /221/ else patterns are dispensed with
and the lines of the coconut fiber cords that were previously
wrapped around the "drum" stand out as the pattern on the entire
287 blackish surface.

(513) This tapa is used chiefly as bed pad (on the top mat), as a
(431) wedding gift and as a cover on which to lay a corpse.
(764)

/237 cont./

463 and *mu'a*, (632)

565 632. The *mu'a* are individuals one of whose parents has the rank of chief, while the other is of *matapule* rank (see E.W. Gifford, *loc. cit.* p. 109.

those who had other vocations were *mu'a* or commoners, except barbers and cooks who belonged exclusively to the commoners.

463 According to Mariner, (633)

428 633. J. Martin, *loc. cit.* II. p. 96.

565 all these vocations were hereditary, with certain reservations in the case of tattooists, carvers of clubs and barbers. However, there seems to have been no compulsion toward hereditary vocations; in the highly esteemed vocations the son took over the activity (usually along with the title) /238/ (634)

634. See E.W. Gifford, *loc. cit.* p. 145.

of his father, if only out of self-interest and in accordance with what had become a general custom, while in the less esteemed vocations the sons probably followed in their father's footsteps as a result of the rigidity of social stratification. (635)

635. See J. Martin, *loc, cit.* II. pp. 94/95.

463 The members of particularly esteemed professions were paid for

431 their work with gifts from the chiefs; (636)

636. Ibid. p. 93.

the natives who practiced the less respected vocations apparently also received occasional gifts. (637)

637. See J. Martin, *loc. cit.* II. p. 92.

463 These conditions in ancient Tonga have now undergone a funda-

177 mental change as a result of European influences.

There are no longer any boat-builders or sailmakers in the old sense, since the catamarans have been given up; the carvers of clubs

/243 cont./

426 436 give it back, the creditor will not be much concerned and will regard
178 the matter as settled, in accordance with the old Tongan custom.

436 There is no doubt that the natives have learned to value money
434 and like it, but even the present high copra prices have not led to
a "copra intoxication" and /244/ a "money fever." They often give away
[431] whole loads of coconuts, and in the Copra Board in Neiafu, for example,
it was observed in 1952 that the Tongans who could not be paid the
full copra price as a result of a temporary shortage of pence coins,
did not come back even after several weeks to pick up their three-or
ten-pence.

454 For most of the natives the idea of saving, in the sense of a
436 continuous accumulation of sums of money, is unfamiliar. About
four decades ago many families were said to have saved relatively
large sums in order to build. At that time several of the European-type frame houses were erected. Today large objects such as
[428] dwellings, cement tanks and carts have often been inherited, and money
[432] is spent on clothing and food and other European goods. Given the
[439] normal demand, the to some extent, artificially produced demand by
434 the shopkeeper's promotion, and the relatively high prices, money is
436 soon spent in a large family.

436 Though the majority of Tongans do not use money purposefully
454 (in the European sense), there is nevertheless no dearth of examples of
472 deliberate management of money after the manner of whites. Thus, for
example, F.S., a Tongan shopkeeper on Nomuka, through carefully considered management, within nine months (1951/52), increased his capital
from 61£T. to about 800£T. and the two aforementioned truck drivers
as well as the lemonade seller on Lifuka (648)

648. See pp. 361-364.

[181] may also serve as example of a wise use of money. These natives,

423 subleasing is common throughout the islands, and most frequently,
427 payment is in a traditional means, such as an occasional basket of
taro or yams, or on a special occasion, a small pig.

511 Upon initial inspection, the information presented thus
423 far suggests a land shortage in the Kingdom. However, this interpretation is not necessarily valid. When confronted by statistics
showing less than one-half of the Tongan taxpayers possessing
allotments, several qualifications must be recognized. Misallocation and maldistribution of land certainly exists. However, none of
the interviewed population, even in the squatters section of the
511 capital, appeared to be critically short of food. In cases where
426 land is totally unavailable for household cultivation of vegetables,
431 it is traditional to borrow or receive subsistence foodstuffs from
511 neighbors, friends, or relatives. In this way even the totally
landless Tongans benefit from garden produce. (Food quality does
vary within the Tongan popualtion, and this will be discussed
further within a later chapter.)

241 Borrowing land for cash cropping or purposes other than
434 subsistence food production is rare. In very few interviews with
[423] [425] landless Tongans did the sale of cash crops contribute to the
income of the household, and this fact was often reflected significantly.
511 in the income of the landless family. However, landlessness
434 should not be considered synonymous with poverty in Tonga. Land-
431 less households, though enjoying less agricultural cash income,
often receive income from more fortunate relatives, in the form of
gifts. (While the most frequent extra-subsidiary expense

434
431 encountered in survey responses was church contribution, the second
most frequent expense was cash gifts to relatives.) In addition,
434 landless households may receive cash from relatives working overseas, most frequently in New Zealand, though also in Australia, Samoa and Hawaii. In a few cases, landless households receive as much or more income from overseas sources than the total income of a landholding Tongan.

241
427 Additional alternatives open to landless Tongans include a variety of sharecropping arrangements, the most common being an agreement to harvest a prearranged quantity of produce, for which no return to the landowner is made. A modification of this is the harvesting of the entire crop by the landless family, and sharing the profits, half and half, with the landowner.

423
427 Still another alternative enabling landless households to obtain land is the paying for such through an unofficial rent system.
[685] The renting or leasing of land under this arrangement is, strictly speaking, illegal. However, use of land is often granted in exchange for gifts of vegetables, pigs, labor or even small amounts of cash paid to the landowner.

423 The landless element in Tonga is rapidly growing, and
undoubtedly will become a major social and economic issue in the
Kingdom's future. However, at present, significant or widespread
social unrest related to the issue of land tenure is not evident.
423 Of those interviewed, 21 percent believed the present land tenure
829 system to be unsatisfactory, due to the lack of sufficient land.
This opinion was not restricted to landless households, but was

231 cover, which is attractive to rats. However, the initial expense
245 of cattle, plus continued capital outlay for maintenance, substan-
tially reduces the profitability of this scheme.

231 Goats were owned by 27.5 percent of the total survey
[241] sample. Although a potentially valuable source of meat and milk,
roaming goats cause considerable crop damage in Tonga. The goat is
one of three scavengers, competing with pigs and fowl for household
[262] refuse and other edible items. While goats are occasionally used
[431] for meat on special occasions, the pig is considered to be a much
[272] more prestigious food or gift. In addition, because of the low
status ascribed to goats, use of goat's milk is avoided. Thus,
the role of the goat in Tongan agriculture is expected to remain one
of little significance.

Pigs are the most prestigious livestock raised in Tonga, and
[262] were owned by 55 percent of the survey sample. As mentioned previ-
[431] ously, the pig is a meat source used for important social functions
and traditional gifts. Being the most common of Tongan livestock,
the pig plays an indispensable role in the control of garbage and
refuse, plus provision of meat protein. Most households own
several pigs, raising them as a food source or as a means to fulfill
[436] a variety of social obligations. It is not uncommon for taxes,
debts and other financial obligations, especially to the nobility,
[262] to be paid with one or more pigs. Pork is not included in the
average Tongan weekday diet, being consumed primarily during main
Sunday meals or at feasts.